

DISCOURSE FUNCTIONS OF TENSE AND ASPECT IN SETSWANA NARRATIVE TEXTS

by

TLHABANE DAVID RANAMANE

submitted in accordance with the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

in the subject

LINGUISTICS

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: PROF A P Hendrikse
JOINT SUPERVISOR: DR A M Chebanne

JUNE 2009

DECLARATION

Student number: 271-316-0

I declare that *DISCOURSE FUNCTIONS OF TENSE AND ASPECT IN SETSWANA NARRATIVE TEXTS* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

.....

T. D. RANAMANE

.....

DATE.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For a work of this magnitude to come to an end, a number of people deserve to be thanked.

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to my supervisor, Prof. A. P. Hendrikse for his patience, motivation and encouragement. Without his guidance and leadership, this work would never have been possible.

I would also like to express my heartfelt thanks to my co-supervisor, Dr. A. Chebanne for his helpful suggestions. Without his helpful comments, this work would not have taken the shape and form it has.

Dr. S. Levinsohn and Prof. George Angelopoulos also deserve my gratefulness; Prof. George Angelopoulos for his comments on chapter 1 and Dr. S. Levinsohn on chapter 1 and 4.

Lastly, I would like to express a word of appreciation to my wife and family for their support, care and encouragement during the writing of this thesis.

SUMMARY

The main aim of this thesis is to examine discourse functions of tense and aspect in Setswana narrative texts. We are going to show that tense and aspect have distinct but related roles to play in Setswana in general and in narrative in particular and that this distinction and relationship become crystal clear in discourse in general.

The field of tense and aspect has not yet been fully explored in Setswana let alone in the Bantu languages south of the Sahara. Moreover, the function of tense and aspect in discourse appears to be taboo in grammatical studies. If successfully carried out, this thesis would therefore be a contribution to the existing research in Bantu languages and theoretical issues in general.

In realizing this aim, this work is structured in the following way. The first chapter provides the aim and scope of the investigation, chapter 2 reviews literature on tense and aspect with a view to showing the need for and to delimiting the topic. Chapter 3 provides the theoretical framework and chapter 4 and 5 are concerned with the application of data from D. P. S. Monyaise's narrative texts. Chapter 6 provides the concluding remarks.

Key terms

Tense, Aspect, Narrative, Discourse Analysis, Text Linguistics, Structuralism, Foreground, Background, Interpersonal Function, Text-Structuring Function.

LIST OF DIAGRAMS

| | | |
|----|--|-----|
| 1. | The map representing the areas in Southern Africa where Setswana is spoken | 2 |
| 2. | The representation of tense on the time line by Jespersen (1924) | 17 |
| 3. | The representation of tense on the time line by Reichenbach (1947) | 17 |
| 4. | The representation of the past tense on the time line | 49 |
| 5. | Temporal relationships | 50 |
| 6. | The representation of aspect as viewpoint | 54 |
| 7. | The representation of the relationship between tense and aspect on the time line | 61 |
| 8. | Temporal relationships | 63 |
| 9. | The position of the narrator coincides with now | 208 |

LIST OF TABLES

| | | |
|----|---|-----|
| 1 | The three scholars with their taxonomies of tense | 4 |
| 2 | Three discourse functions of tense and aspect distinguished in the literature | 6 |
| 3 | A comparison of the tense systems of Jespersen (1924) and Reichenbach (1947) | 23 |
| 4 | The representation of grammatical aspect in terms of semantic features | 27 |
| 5 | The classification of verbs in terms of semantic features | 29 |
| 6 | A summary of Brinton's (1988) types of aspects | 37 |
| 7 | A summary of the contribution of the various approaches to tense and aspect | 45 |
| 8 | The representation of grammatical aspects in terms of their features | 57 |
| 9 | The feature matrix of the verb classes | 60 |
| 10 | Different types of tenses and their meanings | 72 |
| 11 | Setswana aspect system | 88 |
| 12 | The significances of the alternation of overt and covert past tense marker | 170 |

Abbreviations

| | |
|------------|-----------------------------------|
| adj. c. | adjectival concord |
| asp. | aspect |
| aux. | auxiliary |
| ben. | beneficiary |
| cond. | conditional |
| caus. | causative |
| dim. | diminutive |
| fut. | future |
| hab. | habitual |
| loc. | location |
| neg. | negative |
| neut. | neuter |
| o.c. | object concord |
| pass. | passive |
| poss. c. | possessive concord |
| perf. | perfect aspect |
| pres. | present tense |
| prog. | progressive aspect |
| pst. | past tense |
| refl. | reflection |
| rel. c. | relative concord |
| rel. suff. | relative suffix |
| s.c. | subject concord |
| xxx | deletion of the past tense marker |

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|------------------|-----|
| Declaration | i |
| Acknowledgements | ii |
| Summary | iii |
| List of diagrams | iv |
| List of tables | v |
| Abbreviations | vi |

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

| | | |
|-------|----------------------------|----|
| 1.1 | Setswana as a language | 1 |
| 1.2 | Aim(s) of the study | 2 |
| 1.2.1 | The problem of the study | 2 |
| 1.2.2 | The aim of the study | 5 |
| 1.3 | Motivation for the study | 8 |
| 1.4 | Terminology | 9 |
| 1.4.1 | Discourse | 9 |
| 1.4.2 | Narrative | 10 |
| 1.4.3 | Tense and aspect | 10 |
| 1.5 | The research methodology | 12 |
| 1.5.1 | Linguistic approach | 13 |
| 1.5.2 | Data | 14 |
| 1.6 | Organization of the thesis | 15 |

CHAPTER TWO

A REVIEW OF CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE ON TENSE AND ASPECT

| | | |
|-----|---|----|
| 2.1 | Introduction | 16 |
| 2.2 | The basic structuralist approach to tense and aspect | 16 |
| 2.3 | The abstract structuralist approach to tense and aspect | 23 |
| 2.4 | The formal approach to tense and aspect | 30 |

| | | |
|-----|---|----|
| 2.5 | The syntactic-conceptual approach to tense and aspect | 33 |
| 2.6 | The discourse-functional approach to tense and aspect | 38 |
| 2.7 | Conclusion | 43 |

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

| | | |
|-----------|---|----|
| 3.1 | Introduction | 46 |
| 3.2 | The nature of tense and aspect | 46 |
| 3.3 | The notion of time | 46 |
| 3.4 | The nature of tense | 48 |
| 3.5 | The nature of aspect | 51 |
| 3.5.1 | Grammatical aspect | 53 |
| 3.5.1.1 | The semantic features of perfective and imperfective aspects | 55 |
| 3.5.1.1.1 | The situation is presented in its totality/ not in its totality | 55 |
| 3.5.1.1.2 | The situation is presented as completed/ not completed | 55 |
| 3.5.1.1.3 | Present or absence of an internal boundary | 56 |
| 3.5.2 | Aspectual classes | 57 |
| 3.5.2.1 | [+/- Dynamic] | 58 |
| 3.5.2.2 | [+/- Durative] | 59 |
| 3.5.2.3 | [+/- Telic] | 59 |
| 3.5.2.4 | [+/- Result] | 60 |
| 3.6 | The relationship between tense and aspect | 60 |
| 3.7 | The tense and aspect system in Setswana | 62 |
| 3.7.1 | Setswana absolute tenses | 62 |
| 3.7.1.1 | The present tense | 63 |
| 3.7.1.2 | The past tense | 70 |
| 3.7.1.3 | The future tense | 71 |
| 3.7.2 | The aspectual system in Setswana | 73 |
| 3.7.2.1 | The features of the perfect aspect | 73 |
| 3.7.2.1.1 | <i>Anteriority</i> | 73 |
| 3.7.2.1.2 | <i>Perfectivity</i> | 74 |
| 3.7.2.1.3 | <i>Counter-sequentiality</i> | 75 |
| 3.7.2.1.4 | <i>Deferred (lingering) relevance</i> | 76 |
| 3.7.2.2 | Types of the perfect aspect | 77 |
| 3.7.2.2.1 | Present perfect aspect | 77 |

| | | |
|-----------|--|-----|
| 3.7.2.2.2 | Past perfect aspect | 78 |
| 3.7.2.2.3 | Future perfect aspect | 79 |
| 3.7.2.3 | Progressive aspect | 79 |
| 3.7.2.3.1 | Present progressive aspect | 81 |
| 3.7.2.3.2 | Past progressive aspect | 82 |
| 3.7.2.3.3 | Future progressive aspect | 83 |
| 3.7.2.4 | The habitual aspect | 84 |
| 3.7.2.4.1 | Present habitual aspect | 85 |
| 3.7.2.4.2 | Past habitual aspect | 86 |
| 3.7.3 | Conclusion | 88 |
| 3.8 | The terms discourse analysis and narrative | 88 |
| 3.8.1 | The meaning of the concept discourse | 88 |
| 3.8.1.1 | Discourse as language above the sentence | 89 |
| 3.8.1.2 | Discourse as language use | 91 |
| 3.8.2 | Discourse and context | 92 |
| 3.8.2.1 | Context as co-text | 93 |
| 3.8.2.2 | Context as situation | 94 |
| 3.8.3 | The concept narrative | 95 |
| 3.8.3.1 | The temporal organization of a narrative | 96 |
| 3.8.3.2 | Causal dimension of a narrative | 97 |
| 3.8.3.3 | Transactional dimension of a narrative | 98 |
| 3.8.3.4 | History and experientiality | 98 |
| 3.8.4 | The structure of narratives or the story schema | 99 |
| 3.8.4.1 | Abstract | 99 |
| 3.8.4.2 | Orientation | 99 |
| 3.8.4.3 | Complication | 100 |
| 3.8.4.4 | Evaluation | 100 |
| 3.8.4.5 | Resolution | 100 |
| 3.8.4.6 | Coda | 101 |
| 3.8.5 | Narrative as discourse | 101 |
| 3.9 | Discourse functions of tense and aspect | 102 |
| 3.9.1 | Tense as a grounding device | 104 |
| 3.9.1.1 | The nature of foreground | 104 |
| 3.9.1.1.1 | Foreground as a sequence of temporally-ordered clauses | 105 |
| 3.9.1.1.2 | Foreground as human salience | 106 |
| 3.9.1.2 | The nature of background information | 107 |
| 3.9.2 | Tense and aspect as text-structuring devices | 108 |

| | | |
|---------|---|-----|
| 3.9.2.1 | Tense and aspect as markers of discourse units | 108 |
| 3.9.2.2 | Tense and aspect as markers of discourse units within discourse units | 109 |
| 3.9.3 | Tense as the indicator of the interpersonal function | 109 |
| 3.10 | Conclusion | 111 |

CHAPTER FOUR

GROUNDING AS THE DISCOURSE FUNCTION OF TENSE AND ASPECT

| | | |
|---------|---|-----|
| 4.1 | Introduction | 112 |
| 4.2 | Tense and aspect in grounding | 112 |
| 4.2.1 | Setting or orientation | 113 |
| 4.2.1.1 | The use of the past tense | 113 |
| 4.2.1.2 | The use of the present tense | 119 |
| 4.2.2 | Complication | 126 |
| 4.2.2.1 | The use of the past tense | 126 |
| 4.2.2.2 | The use of the past perfect aspect | 133 |
| 4.2.2.3 | The use of the past habitual aspect | 139 |
| 4.2.2.4 | The use of the historical present tense | 142 |
| 4.2.3 | The end or the coda | 146 |
| 4.2.3.1 | The use of the present tense | 147 |
| 4.2.4 | Conclusion | 151 |

CHAPTER FIVE

THE TEXT-STRUCTURING AND INTERPERSONAL FUNCTIONS AS THE DISCOURSE FUNCTIONS OF TENSE AND ASPECT

| | | |
|---------|---|-----|
| 5.1 | Introduction | 153 |
| 5.2 | Tense and aspect as text-structuring devices | 153 |
| 5.2.1 | Tense and aspect as devices of episodic structure | 154 |
| 5.2.2 | Tense and aspect as markers of discourse units within discourse units | 175 |
| 5.2.3 | Conclusion | 184 |
| 5.3 | Tense as the indicator of the interpersonal function | 185 |
| 5.3.1 | The narrator addresses the reader | 186 |
| 5.3.2 | The narrator and the imparting of cultural knowledge | 193 |
| 5.3.2.1 | Imparting of cultural knowledge | 193 |

| | | |
|---------|---|-----|
| 5.3.2.2 | Lessons about life | 194 |
| 5.3.2.3 | The knowledge of children | 199 |
| 5.3.2.4 | The complex nature of women | 202 |
| 5.3.3 | The perspective of the character or the figural narration | 208 |
| 5.4 | Conclusion | 229 |

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

| | | |
|-----|---|-----|
| 6.1 | Introduction | 230 |
| 6.2 | Summary | 230 |
| 6.3 | The contribution of this research to language study | 234 |
| 6.4 | Recommended topics for further research | 235 |

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 237 |
|--------------|-----|

CHAPTER 2

A REVIEW OF CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE ON TENSE AND ASPECT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, my main aim is to review the current literature on tense and aspect. For the purposes of this survey, I have divided this chapter into six sections. In the first section, I review the publications dealing with the basic structuralist approach to tense and aspect and in the second the publications on the abstract structuralist approach to tense and aspect. In the third section, I review the publications adopting the formal approach and in the fourth the publications on the syntactic-conceptual approach to tense and aspect. The publications analysed under the first three sections are more or less related because they analyse these grammatical categories in terms of form and meaning. In the fifth section, I review the current literature on tense and aspect within the discourse-functional approach. These publications analyse tense and/or aspect in terms of form, meaning and function. In the sixth and final section, I summarize the various views on the nature and function of tense and aspect.

2.2 THE BASIC STRUCTURALIST APPROACH TO TENSE AND ASPECT

The publications classified under this approach to tense and aspect are Jespersen's (1924) *The philosophy of grammar* and Reichenbach's (1947) *Elements of symbolic logic*. I refer to the approach as the basic structuralist because both scholars analyse tense in terms of form and meaning, a basic principle of structuralism. These two scholars can therefore be described as the forerunners to the analysis of tense and aspect in English. Furthermore, these two publications exhibit two similarities. The first is that they both explain tense in terms of the time line. Secondly, these two publications do not distinguish between tense and aspect. Instead they classify aspect under tense.

The distinction between the two studies is that Jespersen (1924) draws his examples

from various languages, including English, Turkish, German and French. Moreover, he illustrates his statements by means of examples that are drawn from a wide spectrum of language data such as literary works of art, conversations or speech and newspapers. On the other hand, Reichenbach's (1947) examples are drawn from English only. In his study, Jespersen (1924) relied heavily on the contributions of earlier scholars in Latin, particularly Madvig's (1863) *Latin grammar* and from De Saussure's (1916) *Course in linguistics*.

As already stated earlier, the contributions of these two scholars both explain tense in terms of the time line. Jespersen (1924: 254) defines tense as "the linguistic expression for the natural or notional concept 'time'" or as "time indications expressed in verbal forms". On the other hand, Reichenbach (1947: 288) states the following about the tenses in English:

The tenses determine time with reference to the time point of the act of speech, i.e. of the token uttered.

These definitions are in agreement because they both distinguish between time and tense and both interpret tense as the representation of time in speech.

Here-under follow the representations of tense by both scholars:

Diagram 2: The representation of tense on the time line by Jespersen (1924):

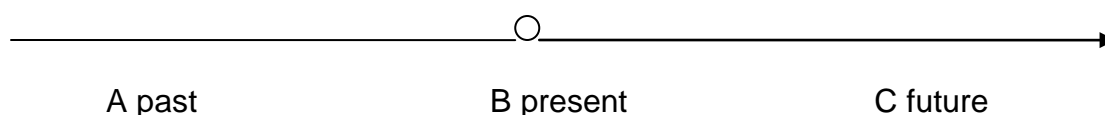
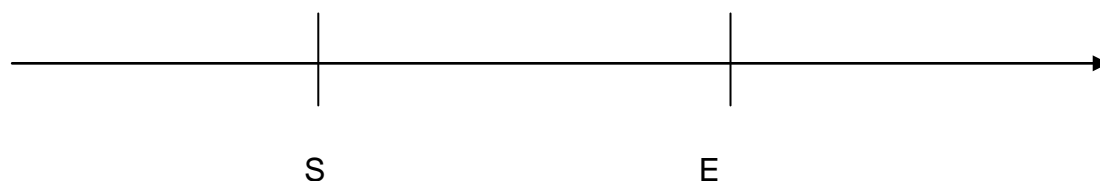


Diagram 3: The representation of tense on the time line by Reichenbach (1947)



The above time line would serve as a representation of *Tom will see Rob* and implies

that the speech time (S) happens before the event time (E).

The distinction between these two diagrams is that that of Jespersen (1924) has a zero point in the middle whereas that of Reichenbach (1947) distinguishes the Speech time (S), the Reference point (R) and the Event time (E). Reichenbach's (1947) representation is superior to that of Jespersen's (1924) because these points help in the distinction between the present, past and future tenses. For instance, the past tense is explained as the event time which occurs before the point of speech, the present tense as the event time which is simultaneous with the point of speech and the future tense as the event time which occurs after the speech point. According to Reichenbach (1947), the reference point may be similar or different from the point of the event. In the following example:

1. Peter went to town

the point of the event is the same as the point of reference. However, in the following,

2. Peter had gone to town

the point of the event is different from the point of reference.

Both Jespersen (1924) and Reichenbach¹ (1947) classify three main divisions of time as the simple past time, simple present time and simple future time in English. The two scholars do, however, differ with regard to the number of subordinate tenses. Jespersen (1924) distinguishes three but Reichenbach (1947) six. The three types of tenses in Jespersen's (1924) taxonomy, namely before-past time, after-past time and before-future time correspond to anterior-past, anterior-present and anterior-future in Reichenbach's (1947) typology. The standard terms for these tenses are the past perfect aspect, the present perfect aspect and the future perfect aspects respectively. Reichenbach (1947) includes three more subordinate tenses, namely the posterior-past, posterior-present and posterior-future.

On the basis of the following examples,

¹ In his discussion of the different tenses, Reichenbach (1947) does not divide them into main and subordinate tenses. He just lumps them together haphazardly. With regard to Jespersen (1924) the division of tenses in terms of main and subordinate divisions is stated explicitly.

- 3. Posterior-present: John will work
- 4. Simple present: John will work

it appears as if there is no difference between the simple future and the posterior present. The reason is that these two types of tenses are illustrated by examples in the future tense. Again on the basis of the example,

- 5. John will be going to work

the posterior-future is the future progressive aspect. Reichenbach (1947) could have named it as such instead of stating that it is not accorded a traditional name in English. Finally, his system cannot specify the tense of the sentence structure:

- 6. Peter would have worked.

Reichenbach's (1947) model suggests four non-future tenses in accounting for the difference between the present perfect aspect and the past tense:

- 7. Peter worked
- 8. Peter has worked.

The difference between 7 and 8 is that in sentence 7, the action happened in the past and in 8 the action started in the past but still continues at the present time.

Jespersen (1924) applies the principle of form and meaning in the analysis of tense. He explains the present tense as referring to the present time as a point with no duration and its role is to serve as the boundary between the past and future tenses. He describes the form of the present tense as similar to that of the infinitive and the imperative. According to him, the present tense serves to express eternal truths. He exemplifies his point with the following:

- 9. Water boils at 100 degrees Celsius.

Such a statement is in the present tense because it is valid at all times.

According to Jespersen (1924), of the three types of tenses, the past is the best understood tense form. As a result, he does not define it. He alludes to its form by stating that in English it is formed by attaching the suffix *-id*, e.g. *rigged*, *-t*, e.g. *baked* and *-d*, e.g. *dragged*, or other irregular morphemes to the verb. Furthermore, he provides various situations in which the past tense is used. According to him, the past tense is used to refer to the past time, to conveying unreal situations at the present moment, to refer to a future event or to something true at all times, as well as shifting the present tense (e.g. in indirect speech). Jespersen (1924) includes the historic present tense or Brugmann's dramatic present tense as a type of past tense. The conveyance of an unreal situation could be exemplified by the following:

10. If I were you, I would have accepted the offer.

On the other hand, the following exemplifies the dramatic present tense:

11. If the funeral had been yesterday, I could not recollect it better. The very air of the best parlour, when I went in at the door, the bright condition of the fire, the shining of the wine in the decanters, the patterns of the glasses and plates, the faint sweet smell of cake, the odour of Miss Murdstone's dress, and our black clothes. Mr. Chillip is in the room, and comes to speak to me.
Dickens: *David Copperfield*, p.134.

The use of "is" and "comes" in the final sentence indicates the dramatic present tense.

Finally Jespersen (1924) defines the meaning of the future tense as the expression of a simple future time. However, he draws the conclusion that the expression of a simple future time is not as clear cut as it should be in different languages of the world. Furthermore, some languages do not express futurity. He invokes the principle of form by stating that the future is formed by inserting the auxiliary *shall* before the predicate.

For instance, in the following example

12. John *will do*

the future time is expressed. Furthermore, there are situations where the future time is expressed by means of a statement in the present tense. In such cases, the meaning of the future time is derived from the use of the future adverb, e.g.

13. I dine with my girl-friend tomorrow.

In example 13 the future intention is expressed by means of the word “tomorrow”. Other functions of the future tense include volition, thought, and intention, e.g.

14. I will leave.

Jespersen (1924) fails to draw a line between the three instances because any of the three could be expressible particularly if sufficient contextual cues are provided.

Jespersen (1924) maintains that the future time may also be expressed in verbs of motion, e.g. “go” and “come” as well as in statements of possibility.

For instance in

15. I am going to swim

the meaning of future time is indicated.

Finally, he states that the meaning of futurity may vaguely be expressed in statements of possibility, e.g.

16. This may cause a terrible explosion.

In the above example, it appears as if the potential aspect instead of the future tense is exemplified.

Although it is not stated in explicit terms, by listing various instances in which each of

these tenses is used, Jespersen (1924) is invoking the issue of prototype in the analysis of tense. Therefore, the expression of the past time is the prototype meaning of the past tense and the other instances automatically constitute the peripheral meaning. So are the expressions of futurity by the future tense and of the present time by the present tense the prototypical meaning of the future tense and the present tense respectively.

Reichenbach's (1947) model is superior to that of Jespersen (1924) because it can account for the analysis of temporal adverbs in the context of tense through the introduction of the notion of a reference point. For instance, in the following example:

17. Peter would have arrived yesterday

the reference point is *yesterday*.

Unfortunately, Reichenbach's (1947) analysis is, in general, too strong because it accommodates tense structures that do not exist in English. Despite all these flaws, his formalization of tense in terms of speech time, reference time and event time has exerted a huge influence on subsequent analyses of tense and aspect and still enjoys wide support today.

It should, however, be stated that both Jespersen (1924) and Reichenbach (1947) suffer from the same weaknesses. The main weakness is that both analyses are sentence-based. The approach is therefore inadequate because it fails to capture the context-dependences of tenses. As a result, their taxonomies of tense cannot account for the discourse functions of tense and aspect.

The outstanding contribution of this approach is the introduction of the time line in the analysis of tense and its influence has stood the test of time.

Table 3: A comparison of the tense systems of Jespersen (1924) and Reichenbach (1947)

| Type | Jespersen (1924) | Reichenbach (1947) | Standard term | Example |
|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Main form | Past tense | Past tense | Past tense | e.g. did |
| | Present tense | Present tense | Present tense | e.g. do |
| | Future tense | Future tense | Future tense | e.g. will do |
| Subordinate Form | Before past time | Anterior past | Past perfect Aspect | e.g. had done |
| | After past time | Anterior present | Present perfect Aspect | e.g. have done |
| | Before future time | Anterior future | Future perfect Aspect | e.g. will have done |
| | None | Posterior past | None | e. g. would do |
| | None | Posterior present | Future tense | e. g. will do |
| | None | Posterior future | Future progressive tense | e. g. will be going to work |

2.3 THE ABSTRACT STRUCTURALIST APPROACH TO TENSE AND ASPECT

The publications classified under this subheading are classified under the abstract

structuralist approach because they explain tense and aspect in terms of semantic features. Included under this classification are Comrie's (1976) *Aspect*, Dahl's (1985) *Tense and aspect system*, Comrie' (1985) *Tense*, Binnick's (1990) *Time and the verb*, Davidsen-Nielsen's (1990) *Tense and mood in English*, Kortmann's (1991) "The triad, tense, aspect and aktionsart: problems and possible solutions" and Sasse's (1991) "Aspect and aktionsart: a reconciliation".

These publications ushered in a new era in the study of tense and aspect and serve as an improvement on Jespersen (1924) and Reichenbach (1947). For the first time, the two notions of tense and aspect were distinguished in the literature. As Comrie (1976) correctly observes the two are closely related but distinguishable. The contributions in these publications have two characteristics. First they have all been influenced by Reichenbach's (1947) representation of tense in terms of a time line, particularly his division of the moment of speech, the speech time and the reference time. The second feature of these publications is that they interpret these notions in terms of semantic features.

As already stated in the preceding paragraph, these publications rely heavily on Reichenbach's (1947) representation of tense on the time line. This influence is even reflected in the definitions of tense and aspect each provides. For instance, Comrie (1976: 1-2) defines tense as relating to

"The time of the situation referred to to some other time, usually to the moment of speaking"

and aspect as

"Different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (Comrie 1976: 3).

The two definitions by Comrie (1976) recognize the three different divisions of the time line in terms of the moment of speech, the reference time and speech time. Keep in mind that even the definition of aspect given above takes into consideration the position of the speaker relative to the time line. Comrie (1976 & 1985) is not alone

in this regard. Even Kortmann's (1991: 13) definition of aktionsart as "those semantic properties having to do with time" reflects this influence by Reichenbach (1947). Comrie (1985) and Dahl (1985) refined Reichenbach's (1947) time line by interpreting the moment of speech as the deictic centre. Accordingly, tense is deictic in nature and aspect non-deictic. In defining tense as a deictic category and aspect as a non-deictic category, Kortmann (1991) is of the opinion that this approach would end the confusion between the two concepts. In order to distinguish between the two, tense is also characterized as situational-external time and aspect as situational-internal time (Comrie 1976 & 1985, Sasse 1991 & Kortmann 1991).

To Reichenbach's (1947) division of S (the point of speech), E (the point of the event) and R (the point of reference), two new terms were suggested for the fourth factor. For this, Dahl (1985) suggests a fourth factor as temporal frame (F). For instance, in the following example,

18. Last year, the year ended on Friday.

The adverb *last year* serves as the temporal frame (F) of the whole sentence. This innovation appears to be useful as a criterion for distinguishing tense and aspect. The introduction of the temporal frame is to cater for the analysis of, for instance, the following sentence provided by Dahl (1985: 30):

19. When I arrived, Peter had been trying to phone me twice during the preceding week.

According to Dahl (1985), the temporal frame is more effective in accounting for the adverbial phrase "during the preceding week" in the above example, an analysis which Reichenbach (1947) could not accommodate. Dahl (1985) argues that languages with no future tense markers can indicate this through the use of temporal adverbs.

On the other hand, Kortmann (1991) introduces a different concept, namely *anterior* or *orientation* to cater for the perfect, pluperfect (past perfect tense is the standard term) and other related concepts, e.g. progressives. The term orientation is not new

in linguistics. It originally stems from King (1973). The present perfect aspect involves orientation because it is anterior to the deictic centre the speech time.

The abstract structuralist approach evokes the concept of prototype to cater for the primary and secondary meaning of tenses and aspect (Comrie 1976 & 1985, Dahl 1985). According to Dahl (1985: 4), the notion of prototype refers to “the best exemplar of the concept or category” and presupposes that “not all members have the same status”. This implies that some members of a category are more dominant than others. He states further that the basic and the dominant members may necessarily differ. The prototypical meaning of the future tense is the future time reference and its other meanings are the peripheral functions. These could include someone’s plans, intentions or obligation, or make prediction or extrapolation from the present state of the world. Dahl (1985) rejects the feature of intention as a necessary condition for futurity.

Some abstract structuralists draw a line between absolute and relative tenses (Comrie 1976 & 1985). The difference between the two is that the absolute tenses are determined by the moment of speech or deictic centre and the relative tenses are anterior to particular reference points. Comrie (1976) in particular, distinguishes two types of relative tenses, the first one being anterior to the relevant reference point and the second one disregarding any reference point. On the other hand, Comrie (1985) characterizes the absolute relative tenses as combining the absolute time location of a reference point with the relative time location of a situation. Comrie (1985: 65) exemplifies the absolute relative tense by the following:

20. John had arrived by six o’clock yesterday evening.

According to Comrie (1985), the above sentence has two reference points. The first is the past denoted by *six o’clock evening* and the second John’s arrival which occurred prior to *six o’ clock p.m.* As a result, John’s arrival is anterior to the reference point, namely *6h00 p.m.* Included under the absolute relative tenses in English are the present perfect and future perfect aspects but not the past perfect aspect. The reason for excluding the perfect aspect from the relative tenses is not explicitly stated.

Turning now to aspect, one finds that the earlier abstract structuralist contributions on tense and aspect (e.g. Comrie 1976 & Dahl 1985) distinguish between two types of aspects, namely grammatical and lexical aspects. In the later contributions within this group, a third type of aspect is introduced namely phasal aspect (cf. Binnick 1990, Sasse 1991, Kortmann 1991). Grammatical aspect is divided into perfective and imperfective aspects and is realized among others by the attachment of various morphemes on verbs. It is a language specific issue whether aspect is actualized through the use of an auxiliary or the attachment of a suffix on a verb. Perfective aspect denotes “a complete situation, including its beginning and its end” and imperfective “the internal structure of a situation without any beginning and without any end” (Comrie 1976: 3).

Table 4: The representation of grammatical aspect in terms of semantic features

| Grammatical aspect | Sub-categories | Meaning |
|---------------------------|--|---|
| | Inchoative | Indicates initiation of some process or action |
| | Resultative | Indicates the result of some situation |
| | Semelfactive | Indicates that an event takes place only once |
| | Punctuative (also punctual) | Indicates that a situation might occur at a certain point of time which cannot be divided into smaller units. |
| Imperfective | Dynamic | Indicates a change in the state of a situation. |
| | Transitory | Indicates a change of state |
| | Progressive | Indicates the continuation of a situation |
| | Iterative | Indicates that a situation occurs repeatedly |
| | Habitual | Indicates that something is done habitually |
| | Static also stative and permanent | Indicates a persistent situation, without any change. |

On the other hand, phasal aspect denotes a verb whose meaning explicates the

temporal perspective on a situation. It could refer to the beginning or the end of the situation, e.g. *begin*, or *end* (Kortmann 1991: 13). Under grammatical aspect, a distinction is made between habitual and continuous aspects as sub-units of the imperfective aspect and characterizes the progressive aspect as a subcategory of the continuous aspect (Comrie 1976, Dahl 1985, Binnick 1990, Kortmann 1991). Finally, lexical aspect is defined as “the inherent meaning of some classes of lexical items” (Comrie 1976: 40). Furthermore, the following classes of lexical aspect as states, activities, accomplishments, and achievements are distinguished (Comrie 1976, Dahl 1985, Binnick 1990, Kortmann 1991).

As already stated in the preceding paragraphs, the scholars whose contributions are classified under the abstract structuralist approach define tense and aspect in terms of semantic features associated with verbs. These semantic features that are introduced are [+/-dynamic], [+/-durative], [+/-telic] and [+/-punctual] (Comrie 1976, Dahl 1985). Each of these features is then defined. For instance, Comrie (1976: 41) defines the feature of durativity as follows: “the given situation lasts for a certain period of time” or is “lasting for a certain period of time”. On the other hand, Comrie (1976: 42) defines punctuality as “the quality of a situation” which “does not last in time”. From this characterization, imperfective is [+durative] and perfective [+punctual]. According to Comrie (1976: 45) a telic situation involves “a process that leads up to a well-defined terminal point”, otherwise it is atelic. Comrie (1976) also differentiates between states and dynamic situations. According to him, a situation is static if there is no change and dynamic if such a change exists.

Furthermore, Dahl (1985), introduces the notion of boundedness or the attainment of a limit to extend these semantic features to five. Finally, Binnick (1990) adds three more features, namely [+/-ingressive] or [+/-inchoative] and [+/-resultative] to cater for the description of phasal aspect. On the other hand, Davidsen-Nielsen (1990) analyses tense and aspect in terms of three binary features of [+/-then], [+/-previous] and [+/-posterior]. In his analysis [+then] symbolises the past time, [+previous] indicates anterior time relative to a point which the speaker selects as his/her time of orientation and [+posterior] indicates future time. He concludes that the present tense is maximally unmarked, while the future perfect is maximally marked on the continuum of tense markedness. He finally arrives at the following taxonomy of eight

tenses, namely *Present, Past, Future, Present Perfect, Past perfect, Future Perfect, Distant Future in Past and Proximate future*.

Table 5: The classification of verbs in terms of semantic features

| Class | [+/-dynamic] | [+/-durative] | [+/-telic] | [+/-result] | Examples |
|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| States | - | + | - | - | Know, love |
| Activity | + | + | - | + | Run, swim |
| Achievement | + | + | + | + | Run a mile |
| Accomplish- ment | + | - | + | + | Recognize, spot |

Different types of languages exploit the distinction between grammatical and lexical aspects in various ways (Sasse 1991). As a result, three major types of languages are distinguished, namely the interactional, morpho-syntactic and poly-actional types. The first is the interactional type which distinguishes sharply between lexical semantic classes of verbs and grammatical aspect, e.g. Greek. The purely morpho-syntactical type (e.g. Samoan) has extremely vague poly-actional verb semantics and a richer TAM marker system. In this type, the rich morphology is used to distinguish and exploit the difference realized in the interactional type. The third one is the lexical type (e.g. German) which contains no grammatical expression of aspect and exploits lexical aspect to capture the role of grammatical aspect.

The outstanding contribution of this abstract structuralist approach is the introduction of semantic features in the explication of tense and aspect.

The publications classified under this subtopic suffer from the same weakness. As already stated at the beginning, the approach these publications adopt is sentence-based. As a result, grammatical categories and items that are discourse conditioned could not be analysed. The findings in these publications therefore fall short of discursively motivated functions.

2.4 THE FORMAL APPROACH TO TENSE AND ASPECT

The publications that are classified under this topic are Hornstein's (1990) *As time goes by: tense and universal grammar* and Georgi and Pianesi's (1997) *Tense and aspect: from semantics to morphosyntax*. These publications adopt the government and binding theory pioneered by Chomsky to the analysis of tense and aspect. On top of that, Georgi and Pianesi (1997) acknowledge their influence as coming from Hornstein.

The examples used in Hornstein (1990) are drawn from English only. Those applied in Georgi and Pianesi (1997) come from various languages in the Germanic and Romance languages, with their main focus on English and Italian. There are reasons for the use of these examples in different languages. Georgi and Pianesi (1997) finally compare these languages from different language families. Their aim is to demonstrate that the morpho-syntactic characteristics of verbal forms determine the properties of the present perfect aspect in a language.

As already stated in the introduction, these two publications adopt Chomsky's government and binding approach to the analysis of tense and aspect. However, the aim of each publication differs. Hornstein (1990) adopts the approach with a view to discovering the nature of the innate language capacity. He therefore emphasizes syntactic over semantic parameters and argues that syntax and semantics should be separated in any analysis. On the other hand, Georgi and Pianesi (1997) offer a formalised theory of the semantics of tense and aspect by mapping temporal structures onto morpho-syntactic structures. In essence, these scholars want to show how different morphological structures result in similar temporal systems. In line with the minimalist framework, they divide the node INFL into agreement (A) and tense (T) markers.

The formal approach, like the abstract structuralist approach, takes Reichenbach (1947) as a point of departure. They all analyse tense and aspect in terms of speech time (S), reference time (R) and the event time (E). On the one hand, Hornstein (1990) argues that the configuration E, R_S (i.e. event time simultaneous with reference time before speech time) is different from R,E_S (i.e. reference time

simultaneous with event time before speech time). This appears to be a misrepresentation of facts because the following sentences:

- 21. John went to school yesterday
- 22. Yesterday John went to school

have the same meaning despite the fact that example 21 conforms to the structure E, R_S and example 22 conforms to R, E_S.

According to him, the reference time is necessary in the description of tense in any tense system. He looks at the nature of tense and also at its interaction with adverbials, temporal connectives and complementation. According to him, the interaction of tense and adverbs is responsible for creating complex tense structures. In order to cater for the derivation of these complex tense structures, he introduces a set of derivational constraints, e.g. Constraint on Derived Tense Structure to constrain the manipulation of SRE. Hornstein (1990) finally draws the conclusion that if the constraint on possible tense and tense configuration were part of universal grammar, it would facilitate the acquisition of tense.

On the other hand Georgi and Pianesi (1997) maintain that tenses are referential in nature. According to them, temporal relations are confined to events and states are further split into two parts, namely T1 and T2. T1 represents tense and combines speech time and reference time while T2 represents aspect and is a combination of event time and speech time.

Various instantiations of T1 and T2 are as follows:

| | | | | | |
|-----|-------|---------|----|--------|-------------|
| T1: | S _ R | future | T2 | E _ R. | perfect |
| | R _ S | past | | R _ E | prospective |
| | (S,R) | present | | (E, R) | neutral. |

They then draw the conclusion that a basic tense structure like E,R_S can serve as a basis for the derivation of other tense structures. For instance, E,R_S can be modified to produce E_R_S and is exemplified by the following sentence structure:

23. Yesterday, John left a week ago.

Georgi and Pianesi (1997) apply this configuration in the explanation of tense and aspect. For instance, with the present tense, S,R combines with E,R to form S,R,E and with the present perfect aspect, S,R combines with E_R to form E_R,S. As a result of this combination of these various times, Georgi and Pianesi (1997) refer to their approach as the neo-Reichenbachian approach.

Georgi and Pianesi (1997) apply the configurations above to classify languages into types. Classified under type 1 are languages such as English and the Scandinavian languages, which reject the co-occurrence of the present perfect with temporal adverbs. The explanation is that tense and agreement form a hybrid category because both are not actualized in the verb. Classified with English are Norwegian, Danish and Swedish. Under Type 2 are classified languages such as the Romance languages, German, Dutch and Icelandic because they allow adverbs in the present perfect aspect. According to them, adverbs in these languages behave like definite arguments.

Georgi and Pianesi (1997) distinguish English from other languages (e.g. Scandinavian languages) with regard to aspect. The reason is that in English, accomplishment and activity verbs reject an imperfect reading to a present tense because they both are [+process]. It is therefore necessary to express continuousness by using progressives. According to them, in all these languages, achievement verbs do not allow a continuous reading because they are [+result]. As a result, the morphosyntactic features of verbs influence their aspectual interpretation. Furthermore, English event predicates are considered to be inherently perfective. On the other hand, perfective predicates are incompatible with speech time because they are not punctual. In this case, the present and past tenses cannot lend themselves to perfective interpretation.

The formal approach has no outstanding contribution to tense and aspect. Even the distinction they made on the basis of morphological properties that have a bearing on the nature of aspectual features of a language never made inroads into the analysis of tense and aspect.

The two publications adopt the sentence approach to the analysis of tense and aspect. This therefore implies that they cannot analyse the relations of linguistic items beyond the sentence. Like the basic and abstract structuralism before them, their weakness is that they fail to examine the discourse functions of tense and aspect.

2.5 THE SYNTACTIC-CONCEPTUAL APPROACH TO TENSE AND ASPECT

The publications that are classified under this topic are Verkuyl's (1972) *A theory of aspectuality*, Brinton's (1988) *The development of the aspectual systems: aspectualizers and post-verbal particles*, Smith's (1991) *The parameter of aspect*, Tobin's (1993) *Aspect in the English verb: process and result in language* and Michaelis's (1998) *Aspectual grammar and past time reference*. These publications are classified under this sub-heading because they analyse aspect in terms of syntactic-conceptual parameters. Secondly their contributions concentrate on aspect and not on tense.

The analysis of tense and aspect in these publications is centred mainly on English. Other examples come from various languages such as French, Russian, Mandarin and Navajo with a view to exemplifying some factors not existing in English. The scope of these examples is not surprising. These scholars aim to prove the role of morpho-syntactic factors in aspect (Verkuyl 1972, Tobin 1993), the existence of aspect in English (Brinton 1988), to explain a general theory of aspectual meaning in the context of universal grammar (Smith 1991) and to explicate the perfect system in English (Michaelis 1998).

The approach adopted here is referred to as the syntactic-conceptual approach. It is syntactic because these scholars maintain that aspect is realized not only morphologically but also syntactically. Aspect is realized syntactically by the addition of various word categories in a sentence. It is also conceptual because it takes into consideration the inherent semantic meaning of verbs. The first scholar to pioneer this approach is undoubtedly Verkuyl (1972) who propounded the views that aspect was compositional in nature. He therefore rejected the view that aspect was a lexical phenomenon (cf. Vendler 1967, Mourelatos 1981, Dowty 1972 and Carlson 1981). According to him, aspectual significances of verbs are determined by the selection

restrictions the verbs have with nouns. This view of the compositional nature of aspect spread like wildfire and immediately received unconditional support from Brinton (1988), Smith (1991) and Michaelis (1998).

These publications should be commended for refining the contributions of their predecessors. Following in the footsteps of their predecessors, these scholars distinguish lexical and grammatical aspects. In refining the contribution of their predecessors these scholars extend the number of grammatical aspect to three by including the third type, namely phasal aspect to capture the perfect system. Brinton (1988) introduces the phasal aspect as a type and Michaelis (1998) describes the perfect aspect as a type of phasal aspect. Smith (1991) also introduces a third grammatical aspect and refers to it as neutral aspect. She is the first scholar to introduce this term and illustrates it with examples from Navajo, Chinese and French. The meaning of this term is blurry and one cannot say whether it is related to phasal aspect or not. Smith (1991) introduces the phasal aspect possibly more for its elegance than for its practical value. Even its application to progressive aspects appears to have been misguided because progressives are classified under the imperfectives (cf. Comrie 1976, Dahl 1985).

The introduction of the phasal aspect as the type of aspect is a radical departure from their predecessors. As a result of the inclusion of phasal aspect, new semantic features such as ingressive and egressive had to be devised. Furthermore, the difference between the habitual aspect and iterative was clearly explained. Brinton (1988: 53) explains the habitual aspect as referring to a “situation as repeated on different occasions” or “a series of similar events which take place over a period of time”. As a result, the habitual qualifies as an aspect because the action is repeated at different times. On the other hand, the iterative is a semantic feature of verbs because it repeats a situation at the same time, like *hammering* or *chopping* a tree. It is therefore correct to state that iterative is a semantic feature of verbs and imperfective and habitual are two different types of aspect.

To the classes of verb types, namely state, activity, accomplishment, achievement, Smith (1991) includes the fifth one, namely the semelfactive. This type is used to cater for verbs such as *cough* and *knock*. In certain contributions (e.g. Comrie 1976,

Brinton 1988), the semelfactive is part of the achievement. Furthermore, to the three semantic features, namely [+/-static], [+/-durative] and [+/-telic], Brinton (1988) adds a fourth one [+/-Dynamic]. He explains the feature [+/-Dynamic] as determining “the occurrence or non-occurrence with the progressive, i.e. combinatorial” and [+/-Durative] as “whether the reading in the progressive is continuous or iterative”.

These scholars do interpret lexical aspect as compositional in nature. Verkuyl (1972) supports his views with the following examples:

- 24. Peter ate sandwiches.
- 25. Peter ate three sandwiches.

He maintains that the verb in 24 is unbounded (durative) because the number of *sandwiches* is not specified but bounded (terminative) in 25 because of the specified quantity *three sandwiches*. He therefore draws the conclusion that the exclusion of noun in the analysis of aspect would result in the wrong classification of the aspectual nature of those verbs. As a result, he rejects the distinction between achievements and accomplishments. Verkuyl (1993) goes at length to analyse events in terms of parts. For instance, the sentence,

- 26. Ian walks to London

comprises two parts, namely *the walking-toward-London* and *the being-in-London*. Sometimes the target, namely *of being in London* may not be reached.

Verkuyl (1993) takes a close look at the presence or absence of Specified Quantity [+/-SOA] in explaining the role of various categories in the composition of aspect. As a result, he concludes that aspect is compositional in nature. This means that, in the analysis of the nature of aspect, one has to take into account both the temporal factors associated with the verb and the atemporal factors associated with the object noun. Finally, he views the terminative aspect as more basic than the durative aspect.

Brinton (1988) increased the number of these word categories to include what she

refers to as nuclear prepositions and aspectualizers. By nuclear prepositions she refers to prepositions in expressions such as *light up* or *shut up*. On the other hand, aspectualizers refer to verbs that indicate the beginning of a situation such as *begin* in *begin to understand* or the end of a situation, e.g. *stop* in *stop to eat*. Furthermore, Smith (1991) increased the number to include adverbials. Tobin (1993) maintains that tense and aspect markers are housed in the lexicon and therefore these notions should be separated. Tobin (1993) rejects the separation between the grammatical aspect and *Aktionsart* on the grounds that lexicon and grammar cannot be divorced explicitly.

Michaelis (1998) then examines the nature and uses of the different types of perfect aspects. She acknowledges that the perfect aspect and the past tense share a feature of anteriority or [+past]. The reason for classifying the perfect as an aspect is because it indicates a relation of anteriority with respect to the reference time. The second reason is that the perfect aspect changes the conceptual frame of a given situation. She distinguishes the various types of the present perfect tense as a resultative, an existential or experiential, and a continuative meaning.

She argues that the members of the perfect system are different from each other and no member is derivable from another. For instance, the following present perfect sentence:

27. John has just arrived

is not derivable from

28. John arrives.

Finally, Michaelis (1998) applies the stativizing operators (i.e. morphemes or auxiliaries which change verbs into states) in the analysis of the perfect and the progressive. She considers both as types of phasal aspect on the basis of semantic values, such as [+unbound] and [+stative]. That is, one is stativizing a situation by changing it into the progressive and the perfect aspects. For instance, in the sentence

29. The bird has swallowed a fish

the verb *swallow* is an activity verb but in this context it is a stative situation, i.e. a perfect aspect. It therefore implies that the activity verb has been stativized in the sense that it has reached a temporary boundary. The same argument holds for changing the same sentence into a progressive, e.g.

30. The bird is swallowing a fish.

It can be concluded that the conceptual notion of stativity links the progressive and the perfect in the same category. On this ground, her classification of the perfect aspect in the same category with progressive and habitual aspects holds water.

Table 6: A summary of Brinton's (1988) types of aspects

| Category | Subcategory | Formal markers |
|-----------------|-------------|--|
| 1. Perfective | | Simple forms |
| 2. Imperfective | Progressive | Be V –ing |
| 3. Phase | Ingressive | start to V |
| | Egressive | stop V-ing, cease to V; finish V –ing |
| 4. Habitual | | Be used to V, be accustomed to V; simple forms |
| 5. Perfect | | have V –en. |

The outstanding contribution of this approach is that tense and aspect are treated not only as morphological and semantic phenomena, but also as a syntactic notion. The role played by nouns, adverbs and other word categories in determining the nature of lexical is a case in point.

The weaknesses of publications classified under this subtopic are not different from those of their predecessors. The reason is that they fail to examine the discourse

functions of any linguistic item. Of course, this aim cannot be realized within their theoretical approach because they take a sentence as the limit of syntactic analysis. In order to examine the discourse function of any linguistic item, the level of analysis should be extended to discourse.

2.6 THE DISCOURSE-FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO TENSE AND ASPECT

The publications classified under this sub-heading are Engel's (1990) *Tense and text: a study of French past tenses*, Fanning's (1990) *Verbal aspect in the New Testament Greek*, Fleischman's (1990) *Tense and narrativity: from medieval performance to modern fiction*, Thelin's (1990) *Verbal aspect in discourse* and lastly Gvozdanovič and Janssen's (1991) *The function of tense in texts*. These publications are classified under this sub-topic because they all adopt a discourse-functional approach to the analysis of tense and or aspect. The aim of each publication is therefore to discover the functions of tense and or aspect in discourse.

The examples each publication analyses are derived from texts, orally or written. For instance, Engel (1990) derives her examples from journalistic discourse gathered from a corpus of 2,226 articles in 23 newspapers and magazines published in 1984. On the other hand, Fanning (1990) adopts a corpus-based approach, drawing a wide range of citations from the Bible (approximately 2,000). Furthermore, Fleischman (1990) derives her examples from oral texts in French. In Thelin (1990), the various authors derive discourse examples from Russian, Bulgarian, French, Finnish and Lithuanian. Finally, in Gvozdanovič and Janssen (1991) the examples come from various texts including scientific texts.

These scholars take the semantic or referential functions of tense or aspect or both as a point of departure for the analysis of their discourse functions (cf. Thelin 1990, Fleischmann 1990, Desclés & Guentichéva 1990, Andersson 1991). As Fleischman (1990) puts it, the referential functions are the basic meaning of a tense or aspect and take precedence over non-referential functions. For instance, the referential meaning of the present tense is that the event time coincides with the moment of speech and of the past tense the event time is located before the moment of speech. On the other hand, the referential function of the perfective aspect refers to the

completion of an action and therefore is bounded and that of the imperfective aspect is unbounded and has duration. In English, the past tense is regarded as the prototypical tense of a narrative text par excellence (cf. Waugh 1990, Fleischman 1990) and in French it is the simple past (c.f. Desclés & Guentchéva 1990). The reason for drawing this conclusion is that both the past in English and simple past in French serve to recount the narrative events in a text.

A number of these publications arrived at various discourse functions, such as textual, expressive and meta-linguistic functions (cf. Engel 1990, Fleischman 1990, Waugh 1990). According to Fleischman (1990), the textual function pertains to the organization of discourse and includes grounding, boundary marking and information blocking. On the other hand, the expressive function depicts the attitudes of the narrator or character towards the narrative events. Finally, the meta-linguistic function deals with how a language makes statements about the language itself.

Discourse scholars successfully arrived at a set of rules for the distribution of these tenses (cf. Engel 1990, Fleischman 1990 and Waugh 1990). For instance, the simple past tense (or aorist in Greek) in French is used for narration (Engel 1990, Fleischman 1990, Fanning 1990, Waugh 1990, Desclés & Guentchéva's 1990) formal style and objectivity, *histoire* and in sports articles, particularly in their opening and closing (Engel 1990). Tense is also described as contrasting foreground and background, segmenting narratives into parts and interrupting the narrative flow in a text (Fleischman 1990). Under the expressive function, evaluation, point of view and focalization are accommodated. This function is realized in the use of the present tense and the historical present. On the other hand, the simple compound is used for discourse (Engel 1990, Fleischman 1990, Waugh 1990) and verbs of state (Engel 1990) or the expression of the writer's commentary (Waugh 1990), imperfect aspect provides background details (Fanning 1990, Desclés & Guentchéva's 1990), stating action in progression and expressing parenthetical and explanatory information (Fanning 1990).

The research into discourse functions of tense or aspect or both was extended to cover the different parts of a narrative. The parts of a narrative are the introduction or spatio-temporal setting, body and an ending (Labov 1972). In modern French usage,

the introduction is expressed in the CP because it is concerned with the spatio-temporal setting of a story (Silva-Corvalan 1991). On the other hand, the SP and *imparfait* are employed extensively within the body of the story because in this section, a lot of narration takes place (Silva-Corvalan 1991). In the ending, CP, SP and the imperfective are all used for different reasons (Silva-Corvalan 1991). The reason for this use is that CP provides information that recounts the story; SP serves as an attention-getter while the *imparfait* relates the story to the situation (Silva-Corvalan 1991). According to her, the introduction forms the background and is expressed in the imperfective aspect whereas the climax is expressed in the imperfect past.

Furthermore, the discourse functions of tense or aspect are associated with the point of view of the speaker. The present tense dominates in a text once the events are narrated from the speaker's vantage point (Gvozdanovič 1991) or the reflection of direct perception by the performer (Fleischman 1990). The various meanings of the French historic present tense are realized in evaluation, highlighting the immediacy and vividness of the story as well as for tracking participants in a text (Monville-Burston & Waugh 1991). Finally, the future tense is used to either introduce or divide the discourse into parts, to maintain the tension of the story, and to signal the use of idiomatic expressions and general truth statements (Tobin 1991).

The examination of discourse functions is confined not only to narrative texts. Some research was done on the role of tense in scientific texts (cf. Andersson 1991). Andersson (1991) distinguishes four textual levels on the basis of the function of tense-forms, namely the object level, the history of science level, textual organization level and the book production level. The object level comprises the main part of the text and carries the content part of the text. According to him, it contains the valid facts about the matter under discussion. For instance, in connection with plants, it contains the structure of plants, their life processes, and their kinds and distribution across the world. Andersson (1991) draws the conclusion that this information is usually presented in the present tense. The second is the history of science level and involves the bulk of scientific research on the subject. It concerns with the gathering of facts about plants as well as any information of current relevance to the topic. This information is presented in the present perfect tense because it is placed a distance

further back. The third is textual organization level and contains the order in which the information is presented in the book. It deals with the genesis and the general purpose of the book. This information is presented in the past perfect tense in order to distance it further back. Finally there is the book production level and the information in it is presented in the future tense.

An enormous number of these publications are not without any flaws. Many of them aimed to research the discourse functions of tense and aspect but their approaches were still sentence-based. That is, these scholars essentially deal with the referential or semantic functions of tense or aspect or both. The first scholar in this case is Fanning (1990). His main aim is to analyse the discourse functions of aspect in the New Testament Greek but ends up dealing with its semantic nature. Scholars like Thelin (1990), Holden (1990), Fielder (1990) and Fabricius-Hansen (1991) are guilty of the same mistakes. For instance, Thelin (1990) researches the notion of time, particularly its history and development and interprets it in terms of semantic features of totality versus partiality. Holden (1990) also looks at the history of aspect in Russian. He comes to the conclusion that its historical development helps in the understanding of its nature and function. Fielder (1990) arrives at the conclusion that in the analysis of aspect usage, the event semantics and context should take precedence. Finally, Fabricius-Hansen (1991) creates a new terminology (e.g. temporal frame, evaluation point and the inferred point of reference) for aspect on the basis of Reichenbach's speech event, reference time and speech time respectively.

Even the publications that devote their analyses to the discourse functions of tense and aspect have some blemishes. Engel (1990) is criticised by Waugh, Antes and Bahloul (1992) for failing to offer a thorough investigation of the past tenses in French. According to them, in French there are four past tenses, namely the simple past, compound past, imperfect and the historical present. Instead of analysing all of them, Engel (1990) limits her analysis to only two past tenses. Another flaw in her analysis is said to be the failure to evaluate the findings of earlier scholars. Otherwise, Engel (1990) has realized that the past tense and compound past are in complementary distribution.

Miller (1994) criticizes Gvozdanović and Jannsen (1991) for their low standard

because of a number of factors. The first is that the editors failed dismally to collate the vast number of concepts applied differently in various articles. Included here are concepts such as vantage point, basic and invariant meanings and system. Since these concepts have been used differently in the publication, Miller (1994) feels that there could have been an overview and even a comparison of these concepts. In essence, Miller (1994) criticizes these scholars for failing to standardize the concepts in their contributions. Miller (1994) correctly criticizes Fuchs (1991) for referring to aspect as deictic in nature because aspect, unlike tense, does not refer to the moment of speech.

Miller (1994) also takes to task other authors such as Ruijgh (1991), Janssen (1991), Tobin (1991) and Silva-Corvalan (1991) for not taking into account the contributions of earlier scholars. Miller (1994) criticizes Ruijgh (1991) for not reading Dahl (1985). According to Miller (1994), if he had read Dahl (1985), Ruijgh (1991) would not have drawn the conclusion that aspect is a grammatical category in Slavic but not in Classical Greek. The reason for this conclusion is that aspect in Classical Greek is grammatical and not derivational as in Slavic while the imperfective indicative and imperative can have inceptive interpretations. Miller (1994) argues that if Ruijgh (1991) had acquainted him/herself with Dahl (1985), he/she would have realized that imperfective forms in Slavic have conative interpretation, a type of inceptive interpretation. Miller (1994) criticizes Janssen (1991) for developing a model of deixis without highlighting its advantages over earlier contributions. Both Janssen (1991) and Tobin (1991) interpreted tense in terms of focal and disfocal concerns, concepts which clearly focus on the remote tenses. There is nothing disputable about this point but, as Miller (1994) observes, Jespersen (1924) analyses this issue pretty well in his publication.

Finally Miller (1994) contends that Silva-Corvalan's (1991) analysis of the imperfective-perfective opposition in terms of stativity and non-stativity can be attributed to Vlach (1981). Miller (1994) rightly concludes that this interpretation is misleading because the opposition between perfective and imperfective does not correspond well with the stative and nonstative dichotomy. These authors would have benefited tremendously if they had acquainted themselves with the Vendler-Mourelatos classifications because in essence, these classifications address the

same subject, *Aktionsart*.

The criticism by Miller (1994) also misses the point because it is centred on the semantics and not on the discourse function of tense. This could also be regarded as a flaw. This implies that these papers did not explore the discourse functions of tense and aspect. The reasons could be that discourse analysis is still a new approach and it will mature with time.

The outstanding contribution of this approach is that the referential functions of tense and aspect should be taken as a point of departure for the analysis of the discourse functions. By recognizing the discourse functions of tense as grounding, boundary marking and information blocking, this approach has laid the groundwork for further research. The aim of this project is therefore to research the discourse functions of tense and aspect, either by corroborating or rejecting the existing ones or coming up with new ones.

2.7 CONCLUSION

The analysis of tense and aspect in terms of structuralism may be divided into three classifications. The first is that of Jespersen (1924) and Reichenbach (1947). Their contributions have two characteristics. First they interpret tense in terms of time line. Second they do not distinguish between tense and aspect. The second contribution is the basic structuralist approach. The scholars in this approach distinguish between tense and aspect and between grammatical and lexical aspects. They also analyse grammatical aspect in terms of imperfective and perfective aspect and lexical aspect in terms of four types of verbs, namely states, activities, achievements and accomplishments. The outstanding feature of the publications in this subsection is that they interpret these notions in terms of semantic features.

The third group is characterized by scholars who adopted the government and binding theory by Chomsky. Like Jespersen (1924) and Reichenbach (1947), these scholars could not explore the discourse functions of tense and aspect. This weakness could be attributed to the fact that the sentence was the upper limit in the contribution of these three groups. As a result, the examination of the discourse

function of any linguistic item, let alone tense and aspect was beyond their theoretical framework.

The final group of scholars adopted the discourse-functional approach to tense and aspect. The contribution by discourse scholars was still at an early stage. Some functions are not discursive in nature. Some contributions claim to be discourse orientated, yet they still apply the sentence approach (e.g. Holden 1990, Chaput 1990 and Timberlake 1990). Furthermore, the contributions under this classification show various discrepancies. The main one is that they failed to standardize their terminology because the discourse-functional approach was still at an embryonic stage. It is therefore not surprising that they failed to collate their contributions.

Some contributions show some similarities. In the analysis of the discourse function, the referential function or meaning serves as a point of departure (cf. Fleischman 1990, Thelin 1990, Fanning 1990). The discourse function of tense or/ and aspect are grounding in narrative texts (cf. Engel 1990, Fanning 1990, Fleischman 1990, Thelin 1990), boundary marking, information blocking as well as evaluation, point of view or focalization (Fleischman 1990). Finally, the discourse functions of tense and aspect have not yet been examined in Setswana. Hence, the relevance of this research topic, discourse functions of tense and aspect in Setswana narrative texts.

Table 7: A summary of the contribution of the various approaches to tense and aspect

| | Structuralists | Abstract Structuralists | Formalists | Syntactic-conceptual | Discourse-functional |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| Domain | Sentence | Sentence | Sentence | Sentence | Discourse or Text |
| Tenses | Present tense Past tense Future tense | Present tense Past tense Future tense | Present tense Past tense Future tense | Present tense Past tense Future tense | Present tense Past tense Future tense |
| Significance | Temporal Nontemporal | Temporal Nontemporal | Temporal Nontemporal | Temporal Nontemporal | Temporal Segmentation Grounding |
| Descriptive Tool | Time line | Time line Semantic features | Time line Semantic features | Time line Syntax Semantic features | Time line Semantic features Sequentiality |
| Aspect | Grammatical aspect Lexical aspect | Grammatical aspect Lexical aspect | Grammatical aspect Lexical aspect | Grammatical aspect Lexical aspect | Grammatical aspect Lexical aspect |
| Significance | Temporal Nontemporal | Temporal Nontemporal | Temporal Nontemporal | Temporal Nontemporal | Temporal Segmentation Grounding |
| Descriptive Tool | Time line | Time line Semantic features | Time line Semantic features | Time line Syntactic Conceptual Semantic features | Time line Semantic features Sequentiality |
| | | | | | |

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I am going to offer a definition of the concepts underlying the research topic, *discourse functions of tense and aspect in Setswana narrative texts*. These concepts comprise *tense and aspect*, *discourse functions* and *narrative texts*. The definition of these concepts will, it is hoped, serve as a means to provide the theoretical framework for the thesis. The area which each concept covers is vast. I will therefore pay attention to the concepts that are pertinent to the topic.

3.2 THE NATURE OF TENSE AND ASPECT

An essential notion underlying both the grammatical categories tense and aspect is TIME. Thus before we take a closer look at the concepts tense and aspect respectively, it would be useful to explore the nature of the notion TIME first.

3.3 THE NOTION OF TIME

It is clear from the literary survey in Chapter 2 that tense and aspect seem to be analysed and described in spatial terms, namely relative positions on a time line. Reichenbach's (1947) allusion to a time line in his differentiation of the various tenses is a good example of this spatial construal of temporal notions

Time and space are however two distinct physical domains. The question therefore is: What warrants this connection between time and space in the linguistic studies of tense and aspect? Although it is never overly stated in the linguistic literature on tense and aspect, it is evident that the conceptual metaphor TIME = SPACE (Clark 1973, Traugott 1975, Lakoff & Johnson 1999) is implicitly subsumed in most, if not all, of the treatises of the notions tense and aspect. That is, being the more abstract domain the time domain gets clarification in terms of some of the attributes of the spatial domain.

Space and Time are two distinct domains, yet they are conceptually related by the conceptual metaphor TIME = SPACE. On account of the TIME = SPACE conceptual metaphor, spatial properties map to temporal properties. Thus, while direction, location (with regard to a reference point – say anterior, posterior), etc. are essentially spatial phenomena they get mapped to the temporal domain, but this mapping is not co-extensive. Thus while direction in spatial terms may have a vector value, e.g. East - West, North-South, North-West, South-East, time does not involve vector values in directions, but simply a line from point A (say past) to point C (say future) through point B (say present). It is therefore immaterial whether the line runs from East to West, or up and down. Thus, the spatial notion that is mapped to the temporal notion is linearity and directionality. A is the starting point of the line and C some endpoint of the line. Using terms such as left and right here is totally inappropriate, even in spatial terms, but unquestionably so in the case of time for two reasons:

- (a) If one stands perpendicular to a moving object, surely it can either move from left to right or from right to left past you.
- (b) But more importantly left and right is inappropriate for the observer. The question is: which way is the observer facing when he/she is standing on the time line. Whichever way the observer is facing, determines the direction of the motion and thus determines what is front or back, forward or backward, past or future.

The effects of this metaphor are evident in the expressions involving the preposition *in*, in English:

- 1. Peter arrived early in autumn.
- 2. Peter arrived early in Warsaw.

The preposition used in the two sentences is isomorphic or identical in form. That is, the use of the preposition *in* in the adverb *in autumn* refers to a (time) season while as regards *in Warsaw* it denotes a location in a town in a particular country (space). The spatial preposition *in* thus also functions as a temporal preposition.

The metaphor, TIME = SPACE, is also evident in the use of spatial adjectives such as

long and *short* to describe the temporal notion of duration in English. Thus, in the following sentence:

3. Time is short/long

the notion of extension in space is mapped onto the temporal notion of duration.

The same can also be said about the use of spatial prepositional phrases in the expression of temporal motion in English, such as *before Friday*, *after Tuesday* and so on. Moreover, it applies to different directions of the temporal motion relative to the speaker, e.g.

4. I am looking forward to Monday.
5. I am looking back over the years.
6. John arrived after midnight.

In each example above, the movement of objects is implicitly stated by the use of the locative adverbial expressions *looking forward to* in 4, *looking back over* in 5 and *arrived after* in 6 which are spatial terms because they all refer to spatial orientation.

Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 142) suggest the following mapping relation between the domains of space and time:

| | | |
|-------|---|----------------------|
| (i) | The Location of the Observer | The Present |
| (ii) | The Space in Front of the Observer | The Future |
| (iii) | The Space Behind the Observer | The Past |
| (iv) | Objects | Times |
| (v) | The Motion of Objects Past the Observer | The Passage Of Time. |

A line (spatial object) is used to represent temporal notion (i.e. tenses) as well.

3.4 THE NATURE OF TENSE

Tense is characterized as the grammaticalization of time in language (Jespersen 1924,

Lyons 1968, Comrie 1985). This view of tense is reflected in the following definition in *The International Encyclopaedia of Linguistics* (1992: 144 - 145):

Tense refers to the grammatical expression of the time of the situation described in the proposition, relative to some other time. This other time may be the moment of speech: e.g., the PAST and FUTURE designate time before and after the moment of speech respectively ... TENSE is expressed by inflections, by particles, or by auxiliaries in construction with the verb...

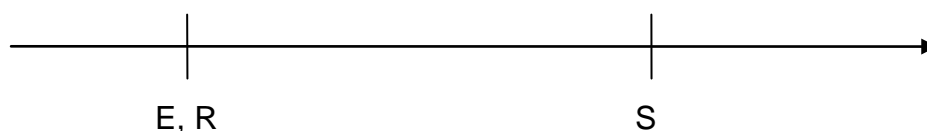
The above definition of tense as *the grammatical expression of the time of the situation* is a widely-accepted view (e.g. Jespersen 1924, Reichenbach 1947, Comrie 1985). In various languages, time is expressed grammatically through quantitative temporal units such as *hours, days, months, and years*; tense and aspect, adverbs, adverbial phrases, substantives and others (Clark 1973, Traugott 1975 and Haspelmath 1997). The definition also makes the claim that the description of time is relative to the moment of speech or the “deictic centre” (cf also *IEL* 1992, Lyons 1968, Comrie 1985, Dahl 1985). The deictic centre therefore plays a fundamental role as the reference point for distinguishing the various tenses in natural languages. As a result, three different types of tenses are distinguished in English, namely the past, present and future tenses.

Reichenbach (1947) represents tense as a relation holding between the time of speech (S), the time of event (E) and the reference point (R). The reference point may coincide with, precede or follow the time of speech. For instance, in the following sentence:

7. John ran to school

the relation between the various conceptual constituents of tense could be represented diagrammatically in the following way:

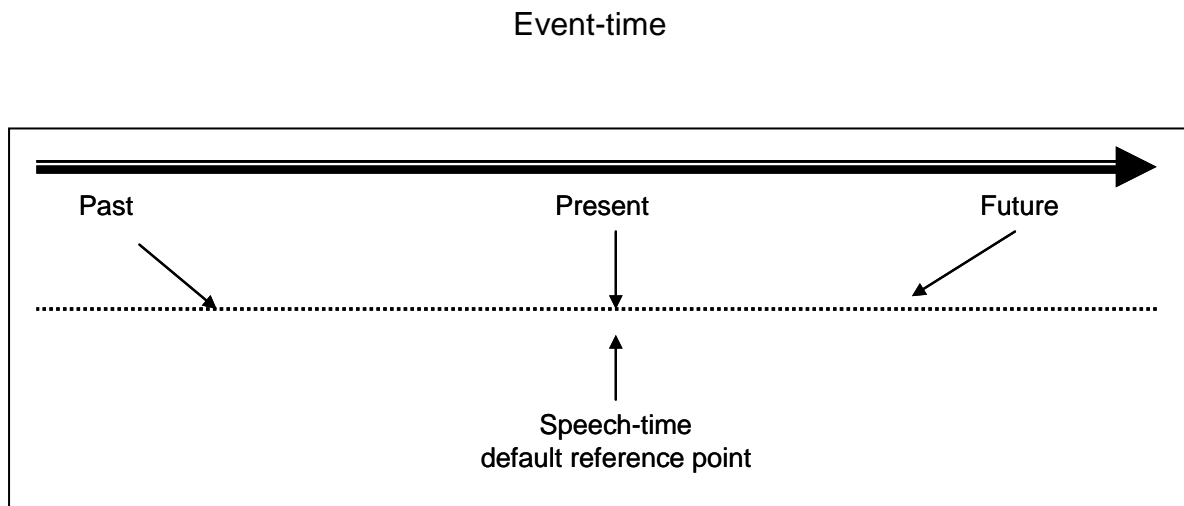
Diagram 4: The representation of the past tense on the time line



In the above diagram, the event and the reference time occur before the speech time. It therefore represents the past tense.

Givon (2001: 284) characterizes tense in terms of reference time and event time, as the following figure indicates:

Diagram 5: Temporal relationships



In diagram 5, there are three major tense divisions:

- (i) Past Event time precedes speech time
- (ii) Present Event time is simultaneous with speech time
- (iii) Future Event time follows speech time.

The *IEL* definition also makes the claim that tense is expressed as part of the verb and marked in a variety of ways in various languages. For instance, in English the past tense is marked morphologically by means of the attachment of the suffixes *-d* (e.g. *sued*), *-t*, (e.g. *kicked*) and *-id* (e.g. *surged*) and the future tense through the auxiliaries *will/shall* (e.g. *(s)he will/shall go*) and *be going to* (e.g. *(s)he is going to die*). On the other hand, in Setswana the present tense is uninflected and the past is marked through the auxiliary morpheme *{-ne-}*.

8. Ke a tsamaya
S(ubject) c(oncord) aspectual walk
(I walk.)

9.

| | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| Subject concord | Past tense marker | Subject concord | Verb stem |
| Ke | <i>ne</i> | Ke | tsamaya |
| I | past tense auxiliary | I | walk |

3.5 THE NATURE OF ASPECT

Aspect is a topic of current interest in many areas of language research, including linguistic theory, philosophy of language, language acquisition, and language-particular studies, yet the study of aspect presents a number of difficulties. There seems to be more uncertainty about the definition of this linguistic category than any other. There is no consensus about the object of study: widely diverse phenomena are subsumed under the label 'aspect'.

The term “aspect” is a loan translation from the Slavic (e.g. Russian *vid*). Aspect is a good choice of translation, for *vid* is etymologically cognate

with the words *view* and *vision*, while the etymological root of aspect is *spect-*, which means 'see, look at, view' (cf *prospect*, *inspect*, *spectacle*, etc.).

This characterization of aspect as *view*, *vision* or *spect-* finds expression in a vast number of contributions in linguistics (cf. Forsyth 1970, Binnick 1990, Smith 1991).

Tense is usually taken as a point of departure for the definition of aspect in English (e.g. Comrie 1976, Binnick 1990). Comrie (1976: 1) explains this approach as follows:

Particularly in view of the terminological and conceptual confusion of tense and aspect, it is worth ensuring now that the meaning of the more familiar term 'tense' is understood, before embarking on discussion of the less familiar term 'aspect'.

The approach that Comrie (1976) adopts could be fruitful in English because the category of tense is morphologically represented in the language. One is, however, not assured that this approach would necessarily clarify the meaning of the notion of aspect.

Like tense, aspect is characterized in terms of time, however, in a different way (e.g. Comrie 1976, *IEL* 1992, Bhat 1999). For instance, Hockett (1958: 277) refers to aspect as having "to do not with the location of an event in time, but with *its temporal distribution or contour*". The use of spatial expression "temporal distribution or contour" stresses the temporal nature of aspect. So does Jakobson (1971: 130), who views aspect as "the temporal values inherent in the activity or state itself". On the other hand, aspect is also characterized in terms of the internal temporal constituency of a situation (cf. Comrie 1976, Dahl 1985, *IEL* 1992). Comrie (1976: 5) contrasts the difference between the aspectual time and tense time thus:

Aspect is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time-point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the one situation; one could state the difference as one between situation-internal time (aspect) and situation-external time (tense).

The phrase “the internal temporal constituency of a situation” implies the wholeness of a situation. This view also finds expression in Bhat (1999: 43) when he refers to aspect as the “temporal structure of an event by relating it either with the event, i.e. the way in which the event occurs in time (ongoing or completed, beginning, continuing or ending, iterative or semelfactive)”. In short, the features of aspect include the *beginning*, *termination* or *progression* of a situation. Again here, the spatial concepts are used to refer to temporal notions.

Following Dowty (1972) and Vendler (1967) two different types of aspects can be distinguished, namely

- (i) Grammatical aspect and
- (ii) Aspectual classes.

3.5.1 Grammatical aspect

Aspect is a “fully grammaticized, obligatory, systematic category of languages, operating with general oppositions such as that of perfective and non-perfective” (Rothstein 2004: 2). The same line of characterization is evident in the definition of the *IEL* (1992: 145) as:

Aspect is not relational like tense; rather, it designates the internal temporal organization of the situation described by the verb. The most common possibilities are PERFECTIVE which indicates that the situation is to be viewed as a bounded whole, and IMPERFECTIVE, which in one way or another looks inside the temporal boundaries of the situation.... These aspects are usually expressed by the inflections, auxiliaries or particles.

As stated in *IEL* (1992), in Russian, each verb can be classified in terms of perfective and imperfective aspects, with the perfective showing an explicit marking in the form of a prefix, infix, a detachable morpheme, a suffix or a morpho-syntactic marker. These morphemes are various but one can be identified as the prototypical form. The imperfective is the unmarked member because it lacks a complex structure.

For instance, in these pairs of Russian examples taken from Verkuyl (1999),

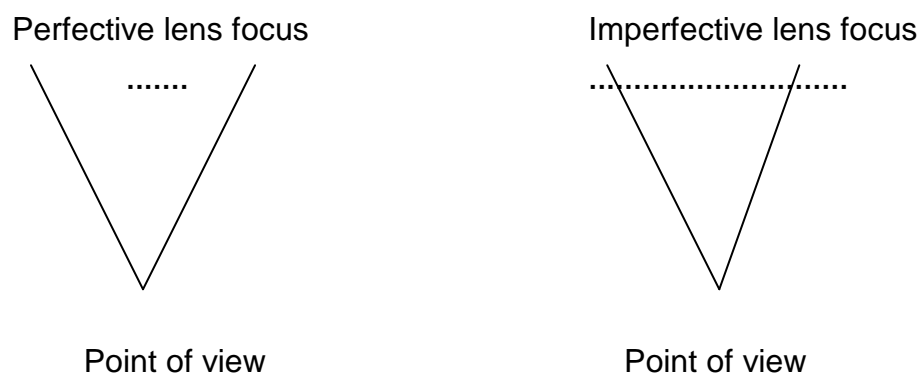
- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|--------|--------------------|
| 10. | <i>pil</i> | versus | <i>vypil</i> |
| | drank (imperfective) | | drank (perfective) |

vypil is regarded as the perfective because of its complex structure and because of its complex or bounded nature. On the other hand, the imperfective *pil* is the unmarked structure because it is morphologically simple.

As Klein (1995) clearly shows, the characterization of aspect calls for spatial dimensions because it relates to the perspective of a particular individual. It appears as if one is seated or standing at a place where (s)he can view the whole situation or inside the situation where (s)he can explain the situation.

As a result, Givón represents aspect as viewpoint or perspective, as in the following diagrams taken from Givón (2001: 289):

Diagram 6: The representation of aspect as viewpoint



The difference in the two lenses is that in the perfective the speaker stands outside the line and in imperfective the speaker stands on the line.

3.5.1.1 *The semantic features of perfective and imperfective aspects*

Grammatical aspect is characterized in terms of a number of semantic features (e.g. Timberlake 1984, Jakobson 1972, Klein 1995 and others). Klein (1995) presents the following three semantic features of Russian aspect as prominent, namely that,

- (i) Perfective presents an action in its totality but imperfective lacks this feature.
- (ii) Perfective presents an action as completed but imperfective presents it as not completed.
- (iii) Perfective implies the notion of a boundary but the imperfective does not imply it.

Let us take a closer look at each of these features:

3.5.1.1.1 *The situation is presented in its totality/ not in its totality*

Klein (1995) traces the origin of this feature to Slavic linguistics in the nineteenth century. It enjoys wide support from a number of Russian scholars (see De Saussure 1916, Isačenko 1968, Forsyth 1970). The characterization of the perfective aspect in terms of this feature suggests that the situation is presented in its totality. De Saussure (1916) adopts this feature by stating that the perfective represents the action in its entirety, like a point, beyond any development. On the other hand, the imperfective shows the action as it continues on the time axis. According to Klein (1995: 674), Isačenko (1968) characterizes the perfective as expressing an action as a holistic, condensed incident, whereas the imperfective leaves this feature unexpressed. Finally, Forsyth (1970) also argues that the perfective expresses an action as a total event summed up with reference to a single specific juncture.

3.5.1.1.2 *The situation is presented as completed/ not as completed*

Klein (1995) traces this characterization to a Slavic scholar Miklosich. In terms of this characterization, the situation is perfective if it is presented as completed and imperfective if it is presented as incomplete or ongoing. However, Klein (1995) points out three weaknesses in the application of this semantic feature. The first is that the feature fails to accommodate many instances of imperfective in which the situation is

completed. As a result, it is too strong. The second flaw is that the feature of completion of a situation is relatable to a specific time span. As a result, the situation is completed relative to a particular time reference, an instance not accommodated in the feature. Klein (1995) suggests that the time span should be stated in specific terms, otherwise the feature presented as completed or not completed misses the point. Obviously a specific time should be the appropriate reference time. Finally, the feature is criticized for highlighting the endpoint at the expense of the beginning or inception and middle points of a situation.

3.5.1.1.3 Presence or absence of an internal boundary

This feature was made popular by Jakobson (1972) and embraced by other scholars including Vinogradov (1947), Timberlake (1984), Dahl (1984) and Bodarko (1991). Smith (1991: 301-302) captures this feature of aspect by stating that the perfective viewpoint “represents events with both the initial and final endpoints” and the imperfective as “parts of a situation, excluding the initial and final endpoints”. Klein (1995) criticizes this feature for failing to distinguish between lexical and grammatical aspects. The reason is that presence of internal boundary is applied to Vendler’s (1967) classification of accomplishments and achievements because both have a boundary. It would therefore make sense, if in the application of this feature, one would be able to distinguish lexical aspect from the perfective-imperfective dichotomy.

In the final analysis, these three sets of features of perfective-imperfective aspects mentioned above are closely related. In essence, they appear to be the different sides of the same coin. On the basis of these features, it appears as if it is hard to introduce a suitable feature for the description of perfective aspect. A common feature for its description appears to be that of totality or completion, with the feature of totality gaining preference.

These features could be summarized as follows:

Table 8: The representation of grammatical aspects in terms of their features

| Grammatical aspect | Sub-categories | Significance |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| Perfective | Inchoative | Indicates initiation of some process or action, e.g. <i>go -simolola</i> in <i>go simolola tiro</i> (to start working). |
| | Resultative | Indicates the result of some situation, e.g. <i>go goroga</i> as in <i>go goroga kwa gae</i> (to arrive at home) |
| | Semelfactive | Indicates that an event takes place only once, e.g. <i>go ratha</i> as in <i>go ratha ga tladi</i> (the strike of lightning) |
| | Punctuative (also punctual) | Indicates that a situation might occur at a certain point of time which cannot be divided into smaller units, i.e. linguistically time can be described as non-dense in contrast to physical time. |
| Imperfective | Dynamic | Indicates a change in the state of a situation, e.g. <i>go bua</i> as in <i>basimane ba bua poo</i> (the boys skin the bull). |
| | Transitory | Indicates a change of state, e.g. <i>go bola</i> as in <i>bull e a bola</i> (the bull is becoming bad) |
| | Progressive | Indicates the continuation of a situation. For instance, <i>o sa ntse a tsamaya</i> ((s)he is still walking). |
| | Iterative | Indicates that a situation occurs repeatedly, e.g. <i>Pule o remakaka setlhare</i> (Pule repeatedly chops the tree). |
| | Habitual | Indicates that something is done habitually, e.g. <i>Pule o a tle a tsamaye</i> (Pule used to walk away). |
| | Static (also stative and permanent) | Indicates a persistent situation, without change of state, e.g. <i>go itumela</i> in <i>Pule o itumetse</i> (Pule is happy). |

3.5.2 Aspectual classes

Aspectual classes involve the classification of verbs in terms of their semantic content, such as states, activities, accomplishments and achievements. It is for this reason that

these classes are sometimes referred to as verb classes. This classification is based on purely lexical, non-grammatical and unsystematic principles. The classification of verbs into states, activities, achievements and accomplishments in English “reflects universal properties of the events in the denotations of the verb” (Rothstein 2004: 16) and can be determined by features such as dynamic–static and telic–atelic. The dynamic-static and telic-atelic dichotomies efficiently show co-occurrence restrictions, particularly in syntax and morphology (cf. Smith 1991, Padučeva 1995). The aspectual meaning of a sentence is the synthetic result of situation aspect and viewpoint aspect; situation aspect referring to the intrinsic aspectual properties of an idealised situation such as dynamic–static and telic–atelic features; and viewpoint aspect to the speaker’s choice of a perfective-imperfective aspect.

Accomplishment combines with adverbs denoting time of completion while activities combine with adverbs of duration and so on. Furthermore, verbs of action can be defined in terms of activity, causation process and the result made possible by the meaning of the verb of action. The following features distinguish the various types of verbs and situation and also explain the interaction between these lexical classes and grammatical aspect.

3.5.2.1 [+/-Dynamic]

This feature of [+/-Dynamic] serves as the main parameter for the initial level distinction of situation aspect (cf. Brinton 1988, Smith 1991). It serves to distinguish two types of situation, namely states and events. A [-dynamic] situation has no internal phases and involves no change (Xiao and McEnery 2004). On the other hand, a [+dynamic] situation involves either its internal structure (e.g. dance) or its changing endpoints (e.g. die) (Xiao and McEnery 2004). Stative verbs are incompatible with a progressive auxiliary because the progressive is already [+stative]. For instance, the following sentence:

11. *Peter is loving Betty

is ungrammatical because the verb *love* is [+stative] and therefore cannot co-occur with the progressive aspect.

3.5.2.2 [+/- Durative]

This feature indicates “the presence or absence of internal stages in the temporal schema” (Smith 1991: 1). It distinguishes between a situation which lasts for a certain time, i.e. [+ durative] and a situation which does not last over a period of time, i.e. [-durative]. The feature durative is relative and thus not specific in temporal length. Compare, e.g. *John slept* which is [+durative] and *John slept for two seconds* which is [-durative].

3.5.2.3 [+/-Telic]

Comrie (1976: 45) refers to a telic situation as “one that involves a process that leads up to a well-defined terminal point”. This view is in line with that of Smith (1991: 29) who associates a telic situation with events that are directed towards a goal. According to her, an event is telic once the goal is reached and a change of state is realized. In this case, the reaching of the goal is of paramount importance. Therefore, a [+telic] situation possesses a natural endpoint but an atelic situation has an arbitrary endpoint. For Vendler (1967), a situation is [+telic] if it is compatible with a *for adverbial* (e.g. *John walked for an hour*) and [-telic] if it is compatible with an *in adverbial* in English (e.g. *John walked in an hour*).

The classification of verbs in terms of aspectual classes according to the features outlined above is illustrated in the following table:

Table 9: The feature matrix of the verb classes

| Class | [+/-dynamic] | [+/-durative] | [+/-telic] | [+/-result] | Examples |
|----------------|--------------|---------------|------------|-------------|------------------------------------|
| States | - | + | - | - | -itse (know), -rata (love) |
| Activity | + | + | - | + | -siana (run), -šapa (swim) |
| Achievement | + | + | + | + | go thuba lobelo (to run a race) |
| Accomplishment | + | - | + | + | -lemoga (recognize), spot |

3.5.2.4 [+/-Result]

A situation is described as [+result] if its meaning includes a reference to a changing process at which the final endpoint denoted by the verb starts holding (Moens 1987: 140). This implies that a verb with a feature [+result] incorporates a natural endpoint of a telic situation with a result. The difference between [+telic] and [+result] situations is that a [+telic] situation does not necessarily entail results. Achievement and accomplishment verbs are [+telic] but differ with respect to the [+result]. Accordingly, achievement verbs encode final endpoints, and therefore are [+result] (e.g. to score a goal), whereas accomplishment verbs imply a result encoded in the argument (e.g. *go kwala lokwalo* (to write a letter)).

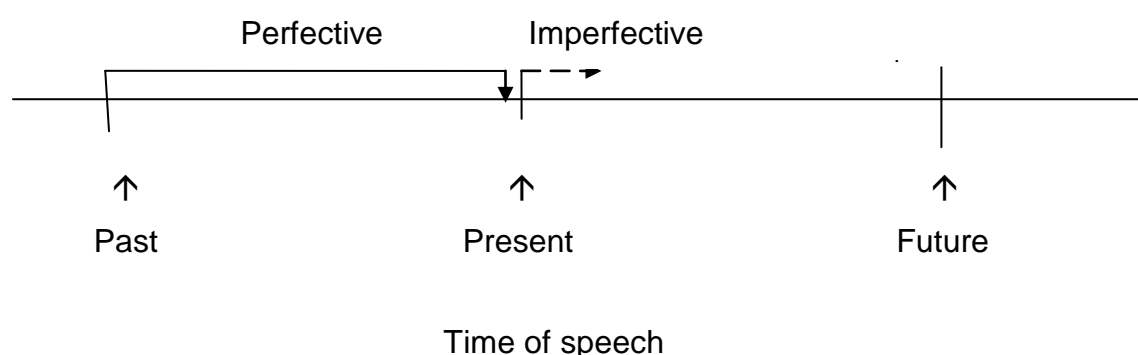
3.6 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TENSE AND ASPECT

The close relationship between tense and aspect is widely acknowledged in linguistic research. This relation is based on the fact that the feature of temporality serves as a common denominator between the two, but in different ways (cf. Timberlake 1984, Klein 1995). For instance, in tense temporality is based on the moment of speaking. Thus, in the present tense, the moment of speech and the time location of a situation are simultaneous, in the past, the time location of a situation occurs before the moment of

speech and in the future, the time location of a situation occurs after the moment of speech. It is on this basis that the relevance of notion precedence and subsequence comes into the picture (Givon 2001). With regard to aspect, a situation is aspectual when the notion of boundedness of time-span is involved, i.e. various phases such as beginning, ending and middle points (Givon 2001). For instance, the perfective aspect is terminative, completive or telic in nature and the imperfective durative with no end points. The issue of temporality comes into the picture because the point of reference serves to establish the time span involved.

This relationship of tense in determining aspect could be represented as follows on a time line:

Diagram 7: The representation of the relationship between tense and aspect on the time-line



One should remember that the position of aspect cannot be at the end of the continuum, since both tense and aspect have the feature of temporal relation as a common denominator. The perfective aspect, like the past tense, is indicated before the moment of speech. The basis for this conclusion is that in Slavic languages the perfective aspect can be combined with the adverbs of past time such as *yesterday*, *a fortnight ago* and so on. On the other hand, the imperfective coincides with the moment of speech. This conclusion gains support from the fact that the imperfective can be combined with adverbs such as *now* in aspect languages. The difference between the present tense and the imperfective aspect is that the latter is longer in duration. Moreover, the duration of the progressive aspect is longer than the imperfective in the sense that the progressive aspect may have started in the past but is still continuing at the moment of

speech or even after the moment of speech. Another factor highlighting the relationship between tense and aspect is that in Classical Latin, the present perfect lacks the typical features of the perfect which other languages possess. Furthermore, *perfectum* in Latin is both a perfect, a category of tense as well as a perfective past, a category of aspect. So is *passé composé* in French because of its interpretation as both a tense and aspect marker (Kortmann 1991).

3.7 THE TENSE AND ASPECT SYSTEM IN SETSWANA

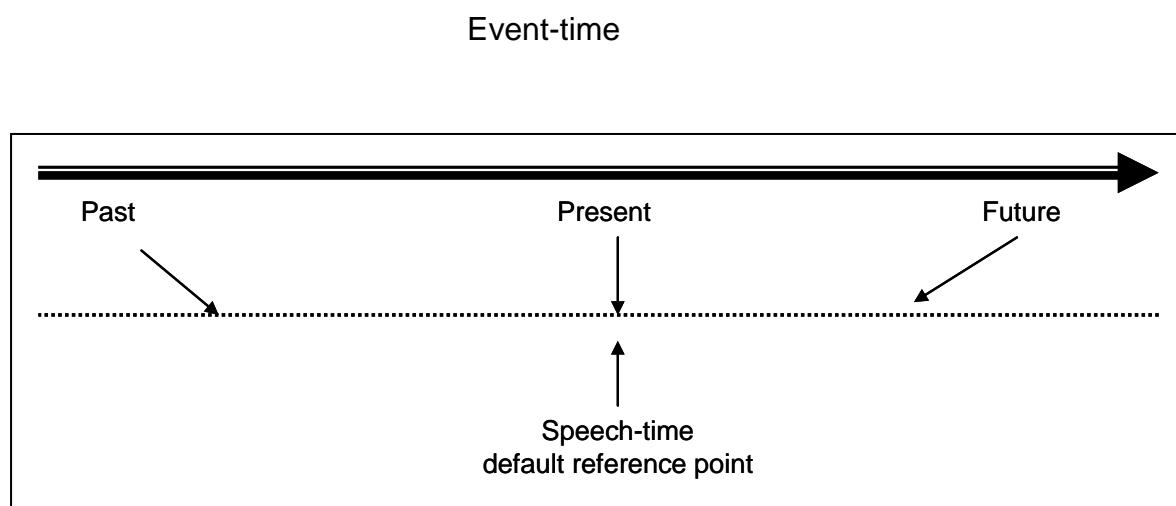
In Setswana, like in all other Bantu languages, both tense and aspect are fully functional in the language. These notions are encoded within the predicate either through the inflection of the verb or the use of auxiliaries occurring before the predicate. Setswana has a number of tense and aspect markers. Each tense or aspect is represented by a unique marker which occupies its unique position within a predicate. In this thesis, I take Reichenbach's (1947) point of speech (S), point of event (E) and point of reference (R) as a point of departure for the analysis of tense and aspect in Setswana.

3.7.1 Setswana absolute tenses

Setswana has three tenses, namely the present, past and future tenses, all distinguishable morphologically and semantically. Semantically these tenses are interpreted in terms of the deictic centre, i.e. S. On the other hand, the past is actualized when the event precedes and the future when the event is subsequent to S. On the basis of the interpretation of each tense in terms of the moment of speech, the present, past and future tenses are classified as absolute tenses (Comrie 1985, Dahl 1985). In this thesis, I consider certain functions of the various tenses as prototypical in nature and others as peripheral in nature (cf. Dahl 1985, Comrie 1976 & 1985). These two terms will become the focus of attention during the analysis of the various tense and aspectual forms.

The three tenses in Setswana can be represented by the three points in the following diagram by Givón (2001):

Diagram 8: Temporal relationships:



3.7.1.1 *The present tense*

Comrie (1985: 36) defines the present tense in the following way:

The time line ... identifies the present moment as a point in time on that line, and the basic meaning of the present tense is thus the location of a situation at that point.

The main point in the interpretation of present tense is the concurrence of the speech event with the event spoken about, i.e. the speech time and the event time are simultaneous. This is regarded as the prototypical meaning of the present tense in English (cf. Markkanen 1979, Leech 1971, Comrie 1985). Leech (1971: 1) expresses this view as follows:

In all the uses of the Present Tense there is a basic association with the present moment of time (the moment of speech). This association can be expressed as follows: 'The state or event has *psychological* being at the present moment'.

The present tense in Setswana has the same prototypical function as illustrated below:

11. Ke go kolobetsa ka leina la Rara
 sc. oc. make wet by name poss.c. Father
- le la Morwa le la Mowa
 and poss. c. Son and poss.c air
- o o Boitshepo.
 rel.c. sc. Holy
- (I baptize you in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy spirit.)

If these words are said in a religious context by the right person, then the moment of speech coincides with the event. I can therefore draw the conclusion that the above sentence is in the present tense. Thus the coincidence of the moment of speech with the event forms the basic or prototypical meaning of the present tense in Setswana.

Apart from the prototypical meaning, the present tense is also used to cover ongoing activities and generic situation (cf. Leech 1971, Dahl 1985, Bybee et al. 1994). As a result, these peripheral meanings provide another dimension to the meaning and function of the present tense. It appears as if the ongoing characteristic relates the present tense to the imperfective aspect. Bybee et al. (1994: 125-126) capture the imperfective situation as

Being in progress at a particular reference time, either in the past or present or one viewed as characteristic of a period of time that includes the reference time that is, a habitual situations.

This definition by Bybee et al. (1994) seems to represent the ideas of various scholars about the imperfective, particularly that it is divided into the continuous and habitual aspect (cf. Comrie 1976, Dahl 1985).

The observation that the present tense exhibits imperfective characteristics appears to obtain in Setswana as well. That is, in Setswana the present tense appears to express an ongoing activity. This conclusion is drawn on the basis of the translation of Setswana sentence structures into English given by Cole (1975).

12. Ke a reka
 sc. asp. buy
 (I buy, I am buying).
 (Cole 1975: 244).

If one considers closely the English equivalents of the above example, it is clear that the meaning, *I buy* is the present tense and the other, *I am buying* the progressive aspect. The Setswana present tense thus admits both interpretations. On the basis of these translations, I conclude that the present tense in Setswana indicates the ongoing feature in its meaning, that is, imperfective characteristics.

On the other hand, the generic situation is illustrated by:

13. *Positive:* Pitso o nna mo Tshwane
 Pitso sc. sit on Tshwane
 (Pitso lives in Tshwane).

- Negative:* Pitso ga a nne mo Tshwane
 Pitso neg. sc. sit on Tshwane
 (Pitso does not live in Tshwane).

The situation described in the above example started in the past, continues at the present moment and will continue in the future. The tense in the above sentence is in the present tense because the speech time and the moment of speech are concurrent. It is therefore correct to conclude that in Setswana, ongoing events and generic situations form part and parcel of the meaning of the present tense. However, the third characteristic associated with the present tense in English, namely the habitual situation is not part of the meaning of the present tense in Setswana. The habitual aspect is expressed differently and will be analysed in detail under the aspectual forms.

Leech (1971) expresses the uses of the present tense as the expression of instantaneous activities, the unrestricted use and the use of the present tense in referring to the future and the past. The expression of instantaneous activities obtains in the communicative acts incorporating running commentaries of events taking place at

the moment of speech (cf. Comrie 1985, Markannen 1979, Leech 1971). In this case, the action expressed in the verb coincides with the moment of speech. The reason is that the speaker utters the utterance at the time the event is taking place. This use of the present tense also applies to Setswana as the following example shows:

14. Pule o dima kgwele, o e naya Mooki,
 Pule sc. throw ball sc oc. give Mooki

Mooki o a kabakanya o e naya
 Mooki sc. asp. look around sc. oc. give

Khumalo Khumalo o a e nosa
 Khumalo Khumalo sc. a oc. goal

(Pule takes the throw-in, passes the ball to Mooki, Mooki receives it, takes a look and passes it to Khumalo and Khumalo scores.)

In the example above, the commentator relates the events as they occur. As a result, the event time coincides with the moment of speech. It therefore provides a typical example of the instantaneous/sequencing use of the present tense.

Let us now consider the unrestricted use of the present tense. This use obtains in situations where a state of affairs or a truth claim holds at all times (Leech 1971).

This use in Setswana is exemplified by the following statement:

15. Ntwa ga e rarabolole sepe
 War neg. sc. solve nothing

(War solves no problem.)

The unrestricted use is also encountered in the expression of eternal truths expressed in proverbs, scientific and mathematical statements, e.g.

(a) Eternal truth:

16. Modimo o mogolo
God be great
(God is the almighty.)

(b) Proverb:

17. Motho ke motho ka batho ba
Person be person by people adj.c

bangwe

others

(A person is a person because of other people.)

(c) Scientific statement:

18. Metsi a bela ka 100⁰C mo boalong jwa
Water sc. boil by 100⁰C at layer-loc. of

lewatile

sea

(Water boils at 100⁰C at sea level).

(d) Mathematical statement:

19. Khutlotharo ya isoselese e na le methalo
Triangle of isosceles sc. has and lines

e meraro e e lekanang

adj.c three rel.c sc. equal (rel suff.)

(An isosceles triangle has three equal sides.)

The present tense may also be used to indicate events that are bound to happen in the

future as well as in the past (Roberts 1962). The following example illustrates the use of the present tense with a future meaning in Setswana:

20. *Positive:*

| | | | | |
|-------|-----|----|------|-----------|
| Pitso | o | ya | Wits | isagwe |
| Peter | sc. | go | Wits | next year |

(Peter goes to Wits next year.)

Negative:

| | | | | | |
|-------|------|-----------|----|------|-----------|
| Pitso | ga | a (pres.) | ye | Wits | isagwe |
| Peter | neg. | sc. | go | Wits | next year |

(Peter is not going to Wits next year.)

The above examples acquire a future interpretation because of the use of the future adverb *isagwe* (next year) even though the verb is expressed in the present tense.

The following example illustrates the use of the present tense to indicate events which happened in the past. This use of the present tense is usually referred to as the historical present in narrative texts. The reason for the use of the historical present is to make events seem immediate, proximal or dramatic:

21. Ka ponyo ya leitho, leru la lerole la thunya kwa Bophirima, le masole a šebašebisa gore a ka bo a sa supe tlaselo e nngwe gape ya Bakwena.
(Suddenly a cloud of dust *rises* to the west, and the soldiers *strain* their eyes to see whether it *indicates* another Bakwena attack.)

Keep in mind that the past tense is also suitable in this instance to accord the events a dramatic effect or immediate proximity. In this case, the events are said to be so real because it appears as if they occur before the eyes of the readers or listeners.

On the basis of these various uses of the present tense, one can draw the conclusion that the meaning of the present tense seems to be polysemous in nature (cf. Comrie 1985, Dahl 1985). In this case, some meanings could be said to indicate prototypical function and other peripheral ones. The expression of instantaneous activities is the

prototypical meaning of the present tense and the unrestricted use and the use of the present tense in referring to the future and the past the peripheral meaning in Setswana.

Morphologically the present tense in Setswana is uninflected. It is usually indicated by the basic form of the subject concord as in the following example.

22 *Positive:*

Monna o ja senkgwe

Man sc. eat bread

(A man eats bread.)

Negative

Monna ga a je senkgwe

Man neg. sc. eat bread

(A man does not eat bread.)

This form is usually referred to as the short form (Cole 1975). The long form is used when there is no object. For instance, the following sentence structures:

23 *Positive:*

Monna o a ja

Man sc. asp. eat

(A man is eating.)

Negative:

Monna ga a je

Man neg. sc. eat

(A man is not eating.)

are described as the long form of the present tense because of the use of the morpheme –a- between the subject concord and verb stem.

3.7.1.2 *The past tense*

The past tense alludes to an event taking place before the present moment (Reichenbach 1947, Leech 1971, Comrie 1985). Taking this definition as a point of departure, one could say that the past tense includes neither the present moment nor the future in its significance. Leech (1971) states that in talking about the past, the speaker has a particular time in mind. As a result, a sentence or utterance in the past tense automatically qualifies as a fact, or real event or happening.

In Setswana, the past tense morpheme takes the form of the auxiliary stem {*-ne-*} placed before the verb stem. On the other hand, in the negative past tense, the negative morpheme *-sa-* appears immediately before the verb stem.

Consider for instance, the following example taken from Sandilands (1952: 86):

| | | | | |
|-----|-------------|------|----|------|
| 24. | Ke | ne | ka | reka |
| | sc | neg. | sc | buy |
| | (I bought.) | | | |

The sentence given above is in the past tense because it expresses the event that happened prior to the moment of speech and because the past tense marker *-ne-* is placed between the subject concords *ke* and *ka*. It is also in the affirmative.

In the negative it has the following structure:

| | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|------|-----|------|------------|
| 25. | Ke | ne | ke | sa | reke |
| | sc. | pst. | sc. | neg. | verb stem. |
| | (I did not buy.) | | | | |

The prototypical meaning of the past tense is realized when the event time precedes the speech time.

In some Bantu languages in South Africa, the past tense is erroneously referred to as the narrative tense or historic tense (cf. Hlongwane 1996) because of its extensive use

in narrative texts, either fictional or factual in nature. As Cole (1975) points out, this tense should correctly be referred to as the past tense.

In Setswana, as in English, the past tense appears to enjoy the only interpretation that the point of event and the point of reference are simultaneous and both are anterior to the point of speech. The other interpretations associated with the English past tenses do not hold in Setswana. It is therefore correct to conclude that in Setswana, the past tense is not polysemous in nature because it is closely tied up with one sense only.

3.7.1.3 *The future tense*

The future tense is described as a complex grammatical notion in English because it possesses both temporal and non-temporal characteristics (Dahl 1985, Comrie 1985). In its temporal interpretation, the future serves as tense and in its non-temporal function the future is classified as mood. In Setswana, this complexity does not exist because the future tense only receives a temporal interpretation. Therefore, the future tense serves only as a tense.

In its temporal interpretation, futurity in English is defined as the location of a situation ahead of the present moment (e.g. Comrie 1985, Dahl 1985, Reichenbach 1947, Markkanen 1979). By this is meant that in futurity the point of speaking precedes the point of event and the point of reference. This definition also holds for Setswana in that the location is posterior to the speech time.

For instance, in the sentence,

26 *Positive:*

| | | | | | |
|----------|-----|--------|--------|----|----------|
| Pitso | o | tla | goroga | ka | moso |
| Person's | sc. | future | arrive | by | tomorrow |

(Pitso will arrive tomorrow.)

the point of speech is anterior to or precedes the point of event and the point of reference. The example is a statement about a future state of affairs and its truth could be attested in the future, but not at the time of speaking.

The future tense in Setswana is expressed by means of an auxiliary verb, *-tla-* placed before the verb stem. The structure of a future predicate differs from that of the past predicate because in the future tense the subject concord is not duplicated. Therefore the future in the affirmative exhibits the following structure:

27. Subject concord + future tense marker + verb stem.

The future in the negative has the following structure:

28. Subject concord + future tense marker + negative + verb stem.

As already stated, the complexity of the future tense in English is not experienced in Setswana because the future tense only receives a temporal interpretation. The reason is that in Setswana, the modal function is performed, not by a future auxiliary verb but by a modal morpheme *ka-*. As a result, futurity is not polysemous in nature. That is, it has a single meaning of referring to the speech event that is posterior to the speech time or moment of speech.

Table 10: Different types of tenses and their meanings

| Tense | Prototypical meaning | Example |
|---------------|--|---|
| Past tense | Event time occurs before the moment of speech | Pule o ne a nwa bojalwa Pule drank / was drinking beer |
| Present tense | Event time occurs simultaneously with the moment of speech | Pule o nwa bojalwa (Pule drinks/ is drinking beer) |
| Future tense | Event time occurs after the moment of speech. | Pule o tla nwa bojalwa (Pule will drink beer.) |

3.7.2 The aspectual system in Setswana

Aspect¹, as defined at the beginning of this chapter, refers to various facets of an activity, that is, the beginning, middle and end. Furthermore, aspect is broadly divided into two types, namely lexical and grammatical aspects. Lexical aspect, which in essence is the division of predicates in terms of semantic features, consists of activities, states, accomplishments and achievement.

In this thesis, I focus mainly on grammatical aspect, that is, the morpho-syntactic expression of aspect. I also distinguish between two types of grammatical aspect in Setswana, the perfective and imperfective aspects. The perfective aspect has only one instance and the imperfective is subdivided into the progressive and habitual aspects.

3.7.2.1 *The features of the perfect aspect*

The perfect system is the most complex notion in grammar and even now, linguists are still battling to come to grips with it. The reason for its complexity is that it contains overlapping tense and aspectual features. Givón (2001) distinguishes four features of the perfect aspect:

- (i) Anteriority
- (ii) Perfectivity
- (iii) Counter-sequentiality
- (iv) Lingering relevance.

3.7.2.1.1 *Anteriority*

The perfect aspect is similar to the past tense in the sense that the event or state precedes the temporal reference point (McCoard 1978, Comrie 1976, Salkie 1989). The difference between the past tense and the perfect aspect is that the past tense subsumes only one reference point whereas the perfect can assume all three main

¹ In Bantu linguistics, earlier scholars used to apply different terms to refer to this notion. For instance, Louwrens (1994) refers to it as compound tense. On the other hand, Posthumus (1982) and Hall (2005) apply the term relative tense. In this thesis, we simply call it aspect because of its semantic characteristics.

Consider the following examples:

- The difference between example 29 and 30 is that in 29 the event of buying cattle occurred before the reference point, but the situation still holds at the time of speech. With regard to 30, the event of buying cattle was done before the moment of speech, but the situation does not hold at the speech time.

The perfect aspect shares with the perfective aspect the feature of completion or accomplishment – the terminal boundary prior to reference time (Givon 2001). This terminal boundary may be moved nearer to – or even up to – the reference time exemplified below:

31. Pitso o ne a setse a mo thuntshitse
 Pitso sc. pst. sc. already sc. obj.c. shoot-perf.
 (Pitso has finally shot him.)

32. Pitso o ne a le fa letsatsi le lotlhe
 Pitso sc. pst. sc. be here day adj.c. all
 (Pitso was here the whole day.)

Example 31 is in the past perfect aspect and the terminal boundary is the point before the moment of speech. Example 32 is in the past tense and its terminal boundary is the past.

3.7.2.1.3 Counter-sequentiality

This function of the perfect aspect is realized in narrative texts. One should keep in mind that the perfective aspect recounts events as they follow one another. The use of the perfect aspect counters the sequence of events because its orientation point is the time of the prior situation.

33.1 Ga tsena basetsana ba ba alolang malao a
 sc. arrive girls rel. c. sc. prepare (rel. suf.) beds poss. c.

balwetsi wa Naledi le wa Mofolo
 patients poss. c. Naledi and poss. c. Mofolo

(There arrived girls who prepared beds for patients, one from Naledi and the other from Mofolo.)

33.2 Phapose ya ga Diarona e le yona e ba
 Room poss.cat Diarona sc. be it sc. oc.

robang sogo mo go yona fa ba tshwere go
 break rest on to it when sc. hold to

tšhotlha baoki le dingaka
 chew nurses and doctors

(Diaronā's ward served as their resting place, when they discussed nurses and doctors.)

33.3 Wa Naledi o ne a kile a leka
 poss. c. Naledi sc. pst.(aux.) sc. once sc. try

booki a tsaya kgwedi tse tharo a
 nursing sc take months poss. c three sc.

ba a latlhegelwa ke serethe sa setlhako
 then sc lose (pass.) by hill poss. c. shoe.

(The Naledi girl had taken nursing classes for three months and then fell pregnant.)

(Monyaise 1965, p.10)

As indicated in the above example, 33.3 is in the past perfect aspect and violates the order of events because the situation it describes occurred before those of 33.1 and 33.2. On the other hand, the events described in 33.1 and 33.2 above follow each other and therefore are expressed in the past tense.

3.7.2.1.4 *Deferred (lingering) relevance*

In linguistics, the concept *deferred or lingering relevance* is described in various terms. It is usually described either as current relevance (McCoard 1978, Givón 2001) or ongoing relevance (Klein 1994). The implication is that the perfect, particularly the present perfect can be used in a past situation which has some present relevance. That is, it holds true at the moment of speech. For instance, in the following example:

34. Pitso o setse a tsamaile
 Pitso sc. already sc. walk-perf.
 (Pitso has already gone or left.)

The leaving of Pitso has some present relevance in the sense that at the time of speech Pitso has already departed.

One could therefore draw the conclusion that the present perfect combines two times, the past and the present times (Comrie 1976). This feature is necessary to account for what the terminative feature of the perfective aspect cannot account for. Keep in mind that the terminative feature denotes that the situation is terminated prior to the moment of speech. In this case, the moment of speech denoted in the present perfect is excluded in its semantic ambit.

3.7.2.2 *Types of the perfect aspect*

Three types of perfect aspect are distinguished in Setswana, namely the present, past and future perfect aspects.

3.7.2.2.1 *Present perfect aspect*

The present perfect aspect consists of the basic subject concord plus the suffix *-ile* attached to the verb stem.

35. Pitso o bone Maidi
 Pitso sc. see (perf.) Maidi
 (Pitso has seen Maidi.)

Furthermore, Cole (1975) compares and contrasts the present perfect aspect with the past tense. He correctly explains that in the past tense, the action occurred in the past time but stopped before the present time. With regard to the present perfect aspect, the action still holds at the moment of speech.

For instance, in

36. Pitso o ne a reka dipitse maabane
 Pitso sc. pst. (aux). sc. buy horse (pl.) yesterday
 (Pitso bought horses yesterday.)

the situation of *Pitso* buying *the horses* happened in the past but does not have them at the speech time. The fact of the matter is that he does not have them at the moment of speech, possibly because he could have sold them or gave them to someone else.

On the other hand, in

37. Pitso o rekile dipitse maabane
 Pitso sc. buy (perf). horse (pl.) yesterday
 (Pitso has bought horses yesterday.)

the situation of *Pitso buying horses* happened yesterday but still persists at the moment of speech. What it implies is that Pitso bought and still possesses the horses at the speech time.

On the other hand, in the present perfect aspect, the action started in the past but still continues at the present time.

3.7.2.2.2 *Past perfect aspect*

The reference point for the location of a situation is contextually derived. What this means is that the reference point is not necessarily provided by the moment of speech. In the past perfect aspect, the reference point is the past. Salkie (1989) suggests that the pluperfect (i.e. the past perfect) is used particularly in narratives to refer to a situation that happened prior to the described event. This type of aspect is formed by the use of the past tense marker *-ne-* placed immediately after the first subject concord and the suffix *-ile* attached to the verb stem in Setswana as is exemplified in the sentence below:

38. *Positive:*
 Monna o ne a dirile thata
 Man sc. pst. sc. work –perf. hard
 (A man had worked too much before he left.)

Negative:

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|------|-----|------|------|-------|
| Monna | o | ne | a | sa | dira | thata |
| Man | sc. | pst. | sc. | neg. | work | hard |

(A man had not worked too much.)

In the negative, the morpheme *-sa-* is inserted immediately before the verb stem which automatically changes to *-dira*.

3.7.2.2.3 *Future perfect aspect*

According to Klein (1994), the relative tenses relate their theme to the intervening reference time.

39. *Positive:*

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|------------|-----------|-----|-------------|-------|
| Monna | o | <i>tla</i> | <i>bo</i> | a | dirile | thata |
| Man | sc. | fut. | | sc. | work –perf. | hard |

(A man shall have worked too much.)

Negative:

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|------------|-----------|-----|-----------|------|-------|
| Monna | o | <i>tla</i> | <i>bo</i> | a | <i>sa</i> | dire | thata |
| Man | sc. | fut. | | sc. | neg. | work | hard |

(A man shall not have worked too much.)

The formation of the future perfect aspect shows structures uncharacteristic of the past perfect aspect. Like the past perfect aspect, it introduces the future tense marker *–tla–* immediately after the subject concord and the attachment of the perfect suffix *–ile* of its variant to the verb stem. Secondly, it introduces a new auxiliary *-bo-* immediately succeeding the future marker. This morpheme appears to provide a dimension of possibility to the situation. The negative form is created by inserting the negative *-sa-* before the verb stem.

3.7.2.3 *Progressive aspect*

The progressive aspect is a rare aspectual category in the languages of the world (Dahl

1985). It is therefore not surprising that there is still terminological confusion even among the scholars who have ventured to research it. Various terms including the “durative” (Dahl 1985, Comrie 1976, Palmer 1965), “continuous” (Scheurweghs 1959), “expanded” “ongoing” (Zandvoort 1972) and “periphrastic” aspects are used to refer to this aspectual form. In this thesis, I adopt the term progressive because it is the standard linguistic term (cf. Scheurweghs 1959, Palmer 1965, Zandvoort 1972, Comrie 1976, Dahl 1985). The progressive signals an ongoing activity (cf. Comrie 1976, Dahl 1985) and is therefore durative. As a result, it should be classified within the imperfective class of aspects (cf. Comrie 1976, Dahl 1985).

Palmer’s (1965: 61) characterizes the progressive as follows:

The progressive indicates activity continuing through a period of time - activity with duration. The non-progressive merely reports activity, without indication that it has duration.

Defining the progressive in terms of the feature of duration is so widespread that this tends to be regarded as its prototypical meaning. This view is reflected succinctly in the following statement by Scheurweghs (1959: 319):

The progressive forms are mainly used to imply an aspect of duration and continuity and to show that a happening is thought of as being in progress and occupying a limited time.

The following are the prototypical features of the progressive aspect (Leech 1971, Dahl 1985, Williams 2002, Comrie 1976):

- (i) The temporary situation that includes the present moment in its time span and that
- (ii) Stretches for a limited period into the past and into the future.

The following are regarded as the intrinsic features of the progressive by Dahl (1985):

- (i) A situation is deemed as being “in progress”.

- (ii) A situation is deemed as being in some way incomplete.
- (iii) Any situation described by using the progressive form implicitly presupposes a “piece” of that same situation prior to the moment in which it is viewed as occurring.

Dahl (1985: 91) extends these characteristics by stating that the progressive aspect is:

- (i) Usually or almost independent of time reference – in other words, it is used both of the present, the past and the future. If there are any restrictions, it is rather the present than the past that is favoured with the progressive aspect.
- (ii) Normally used only of dynamic – that is non-stative situations.

In Setswana, the progressive aspect is formed by placing one of these two forms, *-sa-* or *-sa ntse-* between the first subject concord and the second subject concord, depending on the type. The latter form is said to have resulted from the combination of the first morpheme *-sa* and *-ntse* the perfect form of *-nna* (to sit). In the formation of the different types of the progressive aspects, either of these two forms is used.

3.7.2.3.1 *Present progressive aspect*

The present progressive aspect refers to an activity or event that is happening now and is continuing and has limited duration as is illustrated below:

40. *Positive:*

Pitso o sa tsamaya

Pitso sc. prog. walk

(Pitso is walking.)

Negative:

Pitso ga a sa tsamaya

Pitso neg. sc. prog. walk

(Pitso is not walking.)

In the above examples, the present progressive aspect is formed by the use of *sa-*

between the subject concord and the verb stem and the negative by the negative *ga-* before the subject concord.

The following examples illustrate the form of the present progressive aspect:

41. *Positive:*

Pitso o sa ntse a tsamaya

Pitso sc. prog. sc. walk

(Pitso is walking.)

Negative:

Pitso o sa ntse a sa tsamaye

Pitso sc. prog. sc neg. walk

(Pitso is still not walking.)

In the above example, the progressive is formed by placing the progressive morpheme *-sa ntse-* between the first and second subject concords and the negative *sa-* immediately before the verb stem.

3.7.2.3.2 *Past progressive aspect*

The past progressive aspect denotes that the activity or event started in the past and still continued at the reference point, i.e. the point anterior to the moment of speech. It is formed by inserting the past tense marker *-ne-* between the first and second subject concords and the progressive morpheme *sa-* before the verb stem.

42. *Positive:*

Pitso o ne a sa tsamaya

Pitso sc. pst sc. prog. walk

(Pitso was walking.)

Negative:

Pitso o ne a sa ntse a sa tsamaye

Pitso sc. pst. sc. prog. sc. neg. walk

(Pitso was not walking.)

On the other hand, the second variant of the past progressive aspect is formed by placing the progressive marker *-sa ntse-* between the first and second subject concords and the negative form by inserting the negative *-sa-* before the verb stem.

43. *Positive:*

Pitso o ne a sa ntse a tsamaya

Pitso sc. pst sc. prog. sc. walk

(Pitso was walking.)

Negative:

Pitso o ne a sa ntse a sa tsamaye

Pitso sc. pst. sc. prog. sc. neg walk

(Pitso was not walking.)

3.7.2.3.3 *Future progressive aspect*

The future progressive aspect denotes that the activity or event will start and still continue in the future reference time and is of limited duration. It is formed by inserting the progressive marker *-sa-* immediately after the subject concord and future marker *-tla-* immediately before the verb stem.

44. *Positive:*

Pitso o sa tla tsamaya

Pitso sc. prog. fut. walk

(Pitso will be walking.)

Negative:

Pitso *ga* *a* *sa* *tla* tsamaya

Pitso neg. sc. prog. fut. walk

(Pitso will not be walking.)

The variant form is formed by placing the progressive marker –*sa ntse*- immediately after the subject concord and future marker -*tla*- immediately before the verb stem. On the other hand, the negative is formed by placing the negative -*se*- immediately before the verb stem.

45. *Positive:*

Pitso *o* *sa ntse* *a* *tla* tsamaya

Pitso sc. prog. sc. fut. walk

(Pitso will be walking.)

Negative:

Pitso *o* *sa ntse* *a* *tla* *se* tsamaye

Pitso sc. prog. sc. fut. neg. walk

(Pitso will not be walking.)

3.7.2.4 *The habitual aspect*

The habitual aspect is regarded as part of the imperfective aspect (Comrie 1985, Dahl 1985, Brinton 1988). Comrie (1985: 23) defines the imperfective as making “explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within”.

Furthermore, Comrie (1985: 27) explains the habitual in terms of repetitiveness by stating that it, “views a situation as repeated on different occasions, as distributed over a period of time”.

Note the use of the words *repeated*, *different occasion* and *distributed over a period of time*. These words are used to distinguish the habitual aspect from other aspectual types such as the progressive and imperfective as well as an iterative verb. The reason is that iterative involves the repetition that takes place on one particular occasion.

Comrie (1985: 27-28) highlights another dimension of the habitual aspect:

A situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely as a characteristic feature of a whole period.

Semantic and syntactic criteria are also necessary for the characterization of the habitual aspect. On the basis of its definition, the habitual aspect is durative and unbounded without endpoints. Obviously these semantic features stem from the imperfective aspect. The syntactic criterion involves its use with frequency adverbs, like *gantsi* (several times) *dingwaga tse dintsi* (many years) and even *diura* (hours). The use of frequency adverbials gives a sentence structure a dimension of habituality.

In Setswana, the habitual aspect is realized through the use of two auxiliaries, *-nne-* or *-tle-* or their variant forms between the first subject concord and the second subject concord.

46. subject concord + *-nne-* + subject concord + verb stem.
 subject concord + *-tle-* + subject concord + verb stem.

What is interesting with this usage is that the final vowel of a verb stem is changed to *-e*. In Setswana, two types of habitual aspects are distinguished, namely the present and past habitual aspects.

3.7.2.4.1 *Present habitual aspect*

The present habitual aspect is realized through the use of these two auxiliaries, *-nne-* or *-tle-* or their variant forms.

47. *Positive:*

| | | | | | |
|-------|-----|------|-----|-------------|--------|
| Mpule | o | tle | a | bibile | masigo |
| Mpule | sc. | hab. | sc. | walk-around | nights |

(Mpule usually walks about at night.)

Negative:

Mpule o tle a se bibile masigo

Mpule sc. hab. sc. neg. walk-around nights

(Mpule does not usually walk around at night.)

As illustrated in the above examples, the habitual morpheme *-tle-* is used between the first and second subject concords. In the formation of the negative form, the negative morpheme *se-* is placed before the verb stem.

48. *Positive:*

Mpule o *nne* a bibile masigo

Mpule sc. hab. sc. walk-around nights

(Mpule usually walks around at night.)

Negative:

Mpule o *nne* a se bibile masigo

Mpule sc. hab. sc. neg. walk-around nights

(Mpule does not usually walk around at night.)

3.7.2.4.2 *Past habitual aspect*

In Setswana, the past habitual aspect is realized through the use of the past tense marker *-ne-* in combination with either *-nne-* or *-tle-* or their variant forms

49. *Positive:*

Mpule o ne a tle a bibile masigo

Mpule sc. pst sc. hab. sc. walk-around nights

(Mpule used to walk around at night.)

Negative:

Mpule o *ne* a *tle* a se bibile masigo

Mpule sc. pst sc. hab. sc. neg. walk-around nights.

(Mpule did not usually walk around at night.)

50. *Positive:*

Mpule o ne a nne a bibile masigo

Mpule sc. pst. sc. hab. sc. walk-around nights

(Mpule used to walk around at night.)

Negative:

Mpule o ne a nne a se bibile

Mpule sc. pst. sc. hab. sc. neg. walk-around

masigo

nights.

(Mpule did not usually walk around at night.)

Table 11: Setswana aspect system

| Type | Subtype | Meaning |
|--------------------|--|---|
| Progressive aspect | 1. Present progressive aspect. 2. Past progressive aspect. 3. Future progressive aspect. | 1. Ongoing activity 2. Durative 3. Not complete |
| Perfect aspect | 1. Present perfect aspect. 2. Past perfect aspect. 3. Future perfect aspect. | 1. Anteriority at the relevant reference point. 2. Past time reference 3. Counter sequentiality 4. Lingering relevance |
| Habitual aspect | 1. Present habitual aspect. 2. Past habitual aspect. | 1. Repetitive 2. Distributed over a period of time 3. Durative. |

3.7.3 Conclusion

In this subsection, we examined the Setswana tense and aspect systems. As Comrie (1985) suggests, tense is explained in terms of the deictic centre. As a result, three different tenses, namely the present, past and future tenses are distinguished. The present tense is defined as the temporal situation where the event time and speech time are simultaneous, the past as the situation where the event time is anterior to the speech time and the future as the situation where the event time is subsequent to the speech time.

On the other hand, aspect is characterized in terms of the features completion or not completed and the presence or absence of internal boundaries. We also distinguish two types of aspects, namely grammatical and lexical aspect. Under lexical aspect is the classification of verbs in terms of their internal or semantic content, namely activities, states, achievements and accomplishments. On the other hand, under grammatical aspect, we distinguish the perfective and imperfective aspects; the perfective denoting completion of an action and the imperfective the incompleteness of an event. Furthermore, the imperfective aspect is further divided into the progressive and habitual aspects. Apart from these types of aspects, we also have the progressive and the perfect system. The progressive aspect denotes an event that started in the past and continues at the moment of speech, and the habitual refers to an event that occurs repeatedly at a specific interval. Finally, the perfect system is characterized by anteriority, current relevance, completion and counter-sequentiality.

3.8 THE TERMS DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND NARRATIVE

In this section, we are going to define, compare and contrast the concept discourse analysis and narrative as I have indicated in chapter 1.

3.8.1 The meaning of the concept discourse

Discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary approach that applies quite extensively in diverse fields of study including linguistics, sociology, psychology, literature and communication. Each of these disciplines defines discourse in terms of its own

perspective. A comprehensive definition of discourse is hard to create because it has to take into account the contribution of each discipline. In linguistics, the use of concepts such as discourse linguistics, discourse pragmatics or text linguistics for discourse analysis emanate from the different theoretical frameworks.

Schiffrin (1994) distinguishes two different interpretations of discourse in linguistics, namely

- (i) discourse as the language above the sentence
- (ii) discourse as language use.

3.8.1.1 *Discourse as language above the sentence*

The definition of discourse as the language above the sentence finds expression in formalism and American structuralism. Formalists (e.g. Cantrall 1969, Kuno 1972) are among the first transformationalists to realize the role of discourse in the interpretation of certain syntactic phenomena. Cantrall (1969) introduces discourse factors such as the speaker's point of view in capturing the occurrence of reflexive pronouns in subordinate clauses. Kuno (1972) also demonstrates the role of concepts such as theme and rhyme in capturing the constraints on pronominalization. In his contribution to discourse analysis, Harris (1963: 357) reflects the influence of structuralism by stating:

Language does not occur in stray words or sentences, but in connected discourse ... that is, the sentences spoken or written in succession by one or more persons in a single situation.

By using the phrases “in connected discourse” and “the sentences spoken or written in succession”, Harris (1963) characterizes discourse as the language above the sentence.

The characterization of discourse as the language above the sentence becomes explicit in the following quote from Hausenblas (1964: 70):

In the upward direction: the discourse represents the highest unit of speech, of the use of language in the practice of mutual communication.

The extent and limits of all that should be covered by the term discourse, are given by extent and limits of the correlative (though not purely linguistic) term “act of communication.”

The use of the phrase “upward direction” in the quotation refers to the hierarchical structure of linguistic levels, with phonology at the lowest and discourse at the highest level of speech. This quotation implies that the discourse level is the most complex of all these levels because, apart from its purely discursal rules, it embodies the rules and regularities of the other levels. By defining discourse as “the upward direction” and “the highest unit of speech”, Hausenblas (1964) characterizes it as the level above the sentence.

The concern with discourse as the language above the sentence follows from the criticism of the inadequacies in sentence grammar approaches. American structuralists and transformationalists regard a sentence as the upper limit of linguistic analysis. Their primary aim is to account for Saussure’s notion of *langue* or Chomsky’s notion of *linguistic competence*. However, the flaw of sentence grammar lies in the fact that it fails to capture intersentential relations (e.g. Harris 1963, Kuno 1972). Harris (1963: 7) characterizes this inadequacy of the sentence approach in the following way:

Although we cannot state the distribution of sentences (or, in general, any inter-relation) when we are given an arbitrary conglomeration of sentences in a language, we can get quite definite results about certain relations across sentence boundaries when we consider the sentences of a particular discourse – that is, the sentences spoken or written in succession by one or more persons in a single situation.

Harris (1963) thus advocates discourse analysis because it accounts for intersentential relations that lie beyond the scope of sentence grammar. According to Harris (1963), the concept discourse covers both spoken or written discourse. In this way, discourse analysis breaks new ground because it extends the scope of linguistic investigation to Saussure’s notion of *parole* or Chomsky’s notion of *linguistic performance*.

Schiffrin (1994) criticises this interpretation of discourse because it fails to recognize

language as a means of communication. The flaw in this interpretation is that it does not take into account the role of the speaker, the hearer and the spatio-temporal setting in communication. This interpretation therefore gives a one-dimensional view of language because it regards language as a product and not as a process.

3.8.1.2 *Discourse as language use*

The interpretation of discourse as language use finds expression by scholars whose main concern is discourse analysis *per se* (e.g. Grimes 1976 and others). These scholars interpret language as a means of communication. Edley and Wetherell (1999) reflects the interpretation of discourse as language use in the following quotation:

The discourse allows to embrace the fact that people are both the products and the producers of discourses; the master and the slaves of languages.

The above definition points out the essential features of communication as:

- (i) people are both the product and producers of discourse,
- (ii) people are the master and the slaves of language.

From these two characteristics, one can draw that the discourse is inherently interactional in character. This interpretation of discourse as language use is the proper way of investigating the functions of language.

Longacre (1981: 1) also characterizes discourse in terms of language use by stating that

Discourse is really the natural unit of language. **A person opens his mouth, says something, closes his mouth**, and whether it be a comparatively short stretch or a very involved monologue, a discourse is the result. (bold TDR)

In this quotation, Longacre (1981) equates discourse with speech or utterances. This view differs radically from that of American structuralists who equate discourse with a

combination of sentences. Discourse could comprise a single word, a phrase or even a single sentence within a larger context such as conversation or text.

Hausenblas (1964: 70-71) also stresses the communicative nature of discourse by stating:

By discourse we mean a set of organised language means used in one single communicative act taking place between two participants under given conditions (in a given environment, as a response to a given stimulus and with a given aim in view) by means of a communicative system (or possibly, of several systems).

The above quotation provides a taxonomy of discourse features as a communicative act, two participants, an environment, the speaker's intention and a communicative system.

On the other hand, De Beaugrande and Dressler (1985: 49) stresses the role or intention of the speaker in a communicative act by stating:

In real communication, an element is classified not by what it is in the linguist's scheme, but by what it does, that is, by its function in the processing of the participant.

According to De Beaugrande and Dressler (1985), the intention of a participant is of paramount importance in communication. Each discourse unit therefore functions to capture the communicative intention of a speaker. The flaw in this interpretation is that it rules out a communicative act of a single person in the absence of another discourse participant.

3.8.2 Discourse and context

Context plays a significant role in the interpretation and comprehension of language because it singles out the meaning of a word from a range of related meanings. Hymes (1962: 14) stresses the significance of context in disambiguating words by stating:

The use of linguistic form identifies a range of meanings. A context can support a range of meanings. When a form is used in a context it eliminates the meanings possible to that context other than those the form can signal: the context eliminated from consideration the meaning possible to the form other than those the context can support.

Context therefore plays a role in choosing the relevant meaning of a word from a wide range of meanings.

Context commonly refers to verbal and extra-verbal contexts. Van de Velde (1989: 175) acknowledges these types of context in the following quotation:

Verbal texts do not function on their own in the process of communication. They may coordinate with **extra-verbal information or relate in other ways to what is outside the verbal texts**. Or it may be the case that **extra-verbal information parts have to be involved by the receiver** to handle the cotextual information. (Boldface added - TDR)

In the above quotation, Van de Velde (1989) acknowledges the coordinating role of the first two types of contexts in the interpretation of language. According to him, these contexts are of equal importance because no one takes precedence over the other in the processing of information. Van de Velde (1989) stresses the fact that not only co-text but also extra-linguistic context as well as the cognitive, affective and conative qualities of the receiver are required for the drawing of inferences or semantic construals.

3.8.2.1 Context as co-text

Co-text refers to a linguistic context, that is, the verbal units surrounding an utterance, be it a word or phrase. Marslen-Wilson and Welsh (1978) refer to it as the “semantic and syntactic context”. This type of context depends on the constraints syntax places on a particular word or phrase. Richards et al (1992: 82) defines co-text as:

That which occurs before and/or after a word, a phrase or even a longer UTTERANCE or a TEXT. The context often helps in understanding the particular meaning of the word, phrase, etc.

In co-text, attention is paid to the preceding and proceeding linguistic units of a word or utterance in the interpretation and comprehension of a discourse.

3.8.2.2 Context as situation

The second sense of context refers to the non-linguistic context. Firth (1957) credits Malinowski (1944), an anthropologist, as the first scholar to realize the role non-linguistic context plays in the interpretation of utterances. Furthermore, Firth (1957: 226) criticizes the scholars who base their analysis of meaning on isolated sentences as follows:

Logicians are apt to think of words and propositions as having 'meaning' somehow in themselves, **apart from participants in contexts of situation. Speakers and listeners do not seem to be necessary.** I suggest that voices should not be entirely dissociated from the social context in which they function and that therefore all texts in modern languages should be regarded as having 'the implication of utterance', and **be referred to typical participants in some generalised context of situation.** (Boldface added TDR)

According to Firth (1957), the meaning of linguistic items should be analysed in their social context. This implies taking into account the following aspects of a discourse situation as explicated by Firth (1957:182):

- (a) the relevant features of participants: persons and personalities
 - (i) the verbal actions of the participants
 - (ii) the nonverbal actions of the participants
- (b) the relevant objects
- (c) the effect of the verbal actions

3.8.3 The concept narrative

The theory of narrative benefitted from the traditional literary studies and anthropological studies. Traditional literary studies deal essentially with the novel, short story, fables and other types of narratives. The main contributors to these studies are undoubtedly Aristotle (1962), Henry James (1934), Lubbock (1954) and E. M. Forster (1927). These scholars dealt with the relation between fiction and reality, the organization of plots, different kinds of characters, the parameters of time and place, the relation between authors, narrators and characters and the style of the novel. The inadequacies of these contributions are that they neither define their concepts, draw a distinction between narrative texts nor account for the relation between narrative structures and their linguistic manifestations. Van Dijk (1980: 7) criticizes the traditional literary studies by stating:

There was no theory of the very notion of a narrative: that a novel was a narrative was taken for granted, and no systematic comparison with non-literary, everyday stories was made.

Another contribution within the literary tradition comes from post-war German literary scholarship. Included in this category are scholars such as Hamburger (1968), Lämmert (1967) and Stanzel (1964). Van Dijk (1980: 7) sums up the flaws in their works as a failure to provide

Views about the stylistic manifestations of the perspective of narration, the relation between author and reader, the links between time and tense, temporal shortcuts of plots, the role of flashbacks and preview.

Russian formalists (literary scholars, linguists and anthropologists) made another contribution to narrative studies. These scholars pay attention to the formal analysis of literary works. They contribute significantly to the thematic structure of stories and the difference within narrative structure between story and discourse. Their contribution paves the way and serves as a firm foundation for the French structuralist analysis of narratives.

Richardson (1990) characterizes a narrative in terms of temporality, causality, minimality and transactionalism. Moreover, Fludernik (1996) introduces experientiality as the fifth one and narrativity as the sixth one.

3.8.3.1 *Temporal organization of a narrative*

The definition of narrative in terms of a temporal dimension receives wide support in different disciplines. Narrative is characterized as the representation of events in a time sequence (cf. Schiffrin 1994, Labov 1972). The temporal dimension of narrative finds expression in the following (Labov 1972: 359-360) as:

One method of recapulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred With this conception of narrative, we can define a minimal narrative as a sequence of two clauses which are temporally ordered: that is, a change in their order will result in a change in the temporal sequence of the original semantic interpretation.

According to Labov (1972), a story has to satisfy the following conditions in order to qualify as a narrative:

- (i) the recapitulation of past experience,
- (ii) matching verbal sequences of clauses to the sequence of events,
- (iii) a minimal narrative comprises at least two temporally ordered clauses.

Implicit in a narrative are two temporal dimensions, namely the time of event and the time of narration. Secondly the teller is the experiencer of the event. From this point, one can draw the conclusion that a narrative is a type of an autobiography.

Labov (1972) adopts the view of narrative as a temporal dimension through the use of “matching verbal sequences of clauses to the sequence of events” and “a report of a sequence of events” in the definition.

3.8.3.2 *Causal dimension of a narrative*

The causal dimension as a defining feature of a narrative is based on the view that events have to display a causal link. This characteristic becomes apparent in the following definition of narrative by Cohn (1999:12):

A series of statements that deal with a causally related sequence of events that concern human (or human-like) beings.

Cohn (1999) rightly attempts to delimit the province of narratives with reference to causality in order to disqualify events with no causal link as a narrative. It should be mentioned, however, that this approach derives indirectly from the definition of narrative in terms of the temporal dimension.

Nelson (1990) regards causality as a mental classification of events. What is meant here is that causality involves the thinking and classificatory judgement of a reader because (s)he determines the true nature of a narrative. In essence, the reader determines the causal relations among the narrated events. It is for this reason that Nelson (1990: xvii) refers to causality as

A quasi-instinctual perceptual grid that our minds, in reading as in living, may impose upon events, or mental representations thereof, for the purpose of explaining or perhaps predicting them.

As a result, the readers re-evaluate and restructure the readerly past in terms of the same universal law of giving meaning to life.

Causality also provides meaning to life by giving order to chaos according to Nelson (1990: xxvii):

A temporal bond, connecting events in time; it also functions as an element of metonymy in certain fictional texts, thus marking a junction between the perceived linearity of human time and that of fiction, as well as between grammar of stories and of language.

Nelson (1990) interprets causality as an organizing principle of a narrative text by correlating fictional time and human time. It therefore organizes a story into a coherent whole and thereby gives it meaning.

3.8.3.3 *Transactional dimension of a narrative*

The interpretation of narrative as a transaction recognizes the contractual relationship between the writer and the reader. According to this interpretation, a narrative is a transaction because the writer undertakes to meet certain expectations and the reader determines whether those expectations have been met. Maclean (1988) suggests that the contract is both an act and an enactment; an act because it entails a doing and an enactment because it is a representation of a doing. Narrative is a representation because story telling depends on the whims and choices of a story teller, “the effect of point of view and the necessities of narrative cohesion” (Maclean1988: 72).

Narrative is a transaction because the reader is bound to respond positively or negatively. Smith (1978: 83) stresses this relationship by referring to it as:

A series of complex transaction between two persons who are located in a rich world of objects, events, experiences, and motives, including *reasons* for speaking and listening to each other. It is important that we recognize not only that discourse is a transaction, but also that it is an *economic* transaction, and one in which the functions or value of an utterance differ significantly for the speaker and the listener.

3.8.3.4 *History and experientiality*

Fludernik (1996) criticises the interpretation of narrative in terms of temporality and causality because this approach fails to note the relevance of human experience in narratives. According to Fludernik (1996), experientiality plays a significant role in narratives because it endows them with human quality. Fludernik (1996: 24) captures this view in the following way:

Historical protagonists are of course also perceived as ordinary human agents who have goals, harbour unacknowledged intentions, evince weaknesses of character, engage in duplicitous dealings, etc.; what their personal experience was like (their hopes, fears, their loves and hates, their sufferings).

Experientiality involves the experiencing of events by a protagonist. As a result, (s)he responds emotionally and physically to it. Secondly, human beings are endowed with thinking abilities. As a result, experientiality implies the protagonist's consciousness.

3.8.4 The structure of narratives or the story schema

Labov and Waletzky (1967) describe the structural parts of a narrative whose sole function is to organise a personal narrative into a coherent whole. White (1980) maintains that the structure shapes and narrativizes the events into a narrative. Furthermore, according to White (1980), the division of a story in terms of beginning, middle and end helps to distinguish a narrative from a chronicle or historical annual. According to Labov and Waletzky (1967), the components of narrative include the following:

3.8.4.1 *Abstract*

The abstract marks the beginning of a narrative. It usually provides a brief summary of a narrative or the point of a story. Peterson and McCabe (1991) contend that the abstract sometime calls the attention of the listener to what is to follow. In oral narrative, the abstract serves a secondary function of inviting the listener to listen or seeking permission to narrate a very interesting story. This linguistic item is usually referred to as an introducer.

3.8.4.2 *Orientation*

This component serves to provide background or setting information. Stein and Glen (1979) maintain that the setting performs a dual function of introducing the characters and describing the social, physical or the temporal context in the story. According to

them, the information provided in this section is basically stative in nature and contains habitual states of characters or spatial orientation. The orientation can also provide contextual information by giving the necessity for the incident in the first place. This part usually occurs at the beginning of the story, although other places in the story are not impossible for it. Usually the orientation, together with the abstract, provides background information in the story. The reason for this is that these parts do not take a narrative forward. As a result, their occurrence in a narrative is not obligatory but optional.

3.8.4.3 *Complication*

This part forms an obligatory part of a narrative because it comprises a sequentially ordered information that leads to the high point of the story. The part is obligatory because it provides a narrative dimension to a narrative. Some scholars (e.g. Prince 1982, Labov & Waletzky 1967)) provide the definition of narrative as including two sequentially ordered events. In such cases, these events automatically constitute the complicating actions of the narrative.

3.8.4.4 *Evaluation*

This part provides the emotional information of the narrative. Labov (1972) explains the narrative function in terms of reference and evaluation. Reference deals with the actual events while evaluation shows “why the narrative was told, what its point is” and “what the narrator thought about the narrative” (Peterson & McCabe 1991: 42). Peterson and McCabe (1991) contend that evaluation is embedded in the high point event or crisis of a narrative and is usually marked by the suspense of the action. According to Peterson and McCabe (1991: 42), evaluation in the text serves to “create tension and suspense, convey the emotional significance or check the attentiveness of the listener”.

3.8.4.5 *Resolution*

This part comes immediately after the evaluation of the story. Its function is to provide the resolution of the complication or high point of a narrative.

3.8.4.6 Coda

This appears to be an optional part that marks the end of the story. As Labov (1972) states, the coda sometimes serves to situate the narrated events relative to the present situation.

3.8.5 Narrative as discourse

Narrative is described as discourse because it performs a communicative function involving a speaker and hearer. Gülich and Quasthoff (1986) qualify a narrative as an interactional process. The speaker is an active participant in conversational discourse because (s)he provides signals of approval during interaction. The speaker, the hearer and context are regarded as the three main communicative aspects of narrative (e.g. Stempel 1986, Gülich & Quasthoff 1986). Stempel (1986: 204) stresses these three aspects in the following way:

The pragmatic purpose of the narrative, i.e. as intentionality rooted in the historical situation in which the text was produced, and formed by the author with a view to the intended addressees.

A narrative is also interpreted in terms of its social aspects (Stempel 1986, Polanyi 1985). These scholars contend that narrative scholarship would benefit tremendously by paying attention to these social aspects. Labov (1972: 359-60) captures these social aspects in the following way:

Concepts of shared or social knowledge, the roles of speaker, addressee and audience, their rights and obligations, and other constraints which have not appeared before in the array of linguistic primitives.

Narrative qualifies as a discourse because it is created by a story teller. White (1980) regards narrative production as the creation of a story into a coherent sequence with a beginning, middle and ending. This means that the act of narrating involves the selection, organization and verbalization of information.

Because narrative constitutes a specific form of communication with its various forms of interactional contexts, the following speaker/listener perspectives are encountered:

- (i) The position of personal involvement in events as an actor/patient in a narrative story.
- (ii) The perspective of the bearer of or images of his person.
- (iii) The perspective of the person undergoing an experience in the course of the action...

Wodak (1986: 159)

Fowler (1977: 78) stresses the communicative nature of narratives by stating:

Consciously or not, we address an interlocutor, someone with his own voice, characteristics and opinions, and he may answer back.

In the above quotation, Fowler (1977) uses words such as “we”, “interlocutor”, “voice”, “opinions” and “answer back” to reflect the idea that narrative is communication. By “we” he refers to himself and other authors and by “interlocutor”, “voice”, “opinions” and “answer back” to the addressee. Fowler (1977: 78) suggests that in literary narrative, communication takes place indirectly by stating:

In literature, the relationship is indirect, of course, not face to face: but the author nevertheless has in mind the response of some specific type of potential reader, and the discourse of the narration adjusts itself to the image the author envisages.

A narrative involves the relationship between the author, message and reader (cf. Crismore 1989, Fowler 1977, Lanser 1981). Crismore (1989: 102) refers to this textual relationship as a “dynamic, structured interaction of forces, relations, and discourse”.

3.9 DISCOURSE FUNCTIONS OF TENSE AND ASPECT

Research studies on tense in English linguistics (e.g. Jespersen 1924, Reichenbach 1947, Comrie 1985) identify the primary function of tense as the indication of time-

reference. As a result, tense is interpreted in terms of the moment of speech or deictic centre. For instance, the past tense signifies that the action precedes, that in the present tense the action is simultaneous with, and in the future tense the action follows the moment of speech. This interpretation also holds for Setswana. On the other hand, aspect in the Slavic languages is also interpreted in terms of the moment of speech, however, in a different way. For instance, the perfective aspect is interpreted in terms of the completion of the action and the imperfect aspect in terms of the ongoing action. As a result, aspect is said to be non-deictic.

Tense and aspect also perform various non-temporal functions (cf. Riddle 1986, Brinton 1992, Fleischman 1990, and Caenepeel 1995). The temporal and non-temporal functions are closely related in that the non-temporal (non-prototypical) functions are derived from the temporal (prototypical) functions. The reason is that tense and aspectual markers are contextually meaning-bearing units. It is therefore correct to say that the prototypical functions of tense and aspect deal with the referential meaning and the non-prototypical functions with the contextual meaning. Various non-prototypical functions of tense in different discourse types are identified (cf. Brinton 1992, Fleischman 1990, Waugh 1990). Brinton (1992) identifies the non-prototypical functions of tense as segmentation, foregrounding and backgrounding and internal evaluation. Fleischman (1990) lists the discourse functions of tense as grounding, segmentation and evaluation.

In this study, the term grounding is preferred to foreground and background because it can be used to refer to both these notions. Secondly, this term is used more widely in discourse analysis in various disciplines. The term text-structuring is also preferred to segmentation. The reason is that segmentation is too broad a term because it applies to all the levels of linguistic analysis including phonology, morphology and syntax. The term text-structuring appears to be relevant and restricted primarily to the organization of a text. Finally, the term interpersonal function is preferred to the term internal evaluation. The concept interpersonal function originates from Halliday (1970) and covers the expressive, social and conative functions. As a result, it is a broad concept to include various concepts within its semantic ambit including even internal evaluation.

In this thesis I will therefore consider and analyse the following discourse functions of

Setswana tense and aspect:

- (i) Tense and aspect as a grounding function
- (ii) Tense and aspect as a text-structuring function
- (iii) Tense and aspect as an interpersonal function.

The data for the study of these functions are based on random excerpts in Setswana from the three narrative texts by D. P. S. Monyaise.

.

In the following sections, I briefly characterize each one of these functions listed above.

3.9.1 Tense as a grounding device

The term grounding alludes to both foreground and background. It originates from the Prague school of linguistics and was particularly applied to poetry (see Garvin 1964, Jakobson 1961). In discourse analysis, grounding was introduced by Hopper (1979) and Hopper and Thompson (1980). Nowadays, there is a proliferation of new terms for foregrounding and backgrounding. These terms include narrative skeleton and narrative backbone (Labov 1972), event and non-event structures (Grimes 1975), main and subsidiary (Longacre 1978), figure and ground (Talmy 1978, Reinhart 1984), and the main line and side structure (Van Kuppevelt 1995). In narratology, the concepts foreground and background are referred to as *story* versus *plot* (Forster 1974), *fabula* versus *sjuzhet* (Shklovsky 1971), *histoire* versus *discourse* (Benveniste 1971) and *story* and *discourse* (Chatman 1978).

In this thesis, the term grounding is adopted to refer to the foreground-background dichotomy. This term is preferred because it is so widely applied in linguistics that it could be regarded as the standard term. Another reason for the adoption of this term is that it is widely used in various disciplines such as literature, linguistics, psychology and sociology.

3.9.1.1 The nature of foreground

Foreground has been characterized in two widely-accepted ways. The first refers to

foreground as a sequence of temporally-ordered clauses as well as causality (Fleischman 1985, Hataav 1985, Wårvik 1992, Van Kupperveld 1995). The second refers to the highlighting, emphasizing or focusing certain information in communication (Halliday 1978, Dothwaite 2000).

3.9.1.1.1 *Foreground as a sequence of temporally-ordered clauses*

This characterization of foregrounding as a sequence of temporally-ordered clauses is reflected in its definition as the material that charts the progress of narrative through time (Ehrlich 1987), the chronologically-ordered action (Wårvik 1990, 1992) and the temporal material forming the story line (Van Kuppevelt 1995). This characterization of grounding in terms of a sequence of temporally-ordered clauses is so fundamental that it seemingly equates foregrounding with narrativity (Labov 1972, Genette 1980, Prince 1982, Reinhart 1984).

This equation of foreground and narrativity refers to the definition of narrative as a temporally-ordered sequence of events. The following definition of narrative by Labov (1972: 359-360) illustrates this observation:

One method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred

According to Labov (1972), a story has to satisfy the following conditions in order to qualify as a narrative:

- (i) The recapitulation of past experience,
- (ii) Matching verbal sequences of clauses to the sequence of events,

Implicit in the definition of a narrative are two temporal dimensions, namely the time of the event and the time of the narration. Also implicit in the definition is the fact that the teller of a narrative experienced the events.

In terms of this characterization, a minimal narrative is a sequence of two clauses which

are temporally-ordered: that is, a change in their order will result in a change in the temporal sequence of the events described in the clauses (Prince 1982).

Wårvik (1990: 559) also refers to sequentiality in the definition of foregrounding as,

Consisting of the chronologically-ordered, unique, non-durative actions performed by an agent acting on purpose, which constitute the main story-line. The foreground is presented against a background.

The features listed by Wårvik (1992) correspond rather well with those in Longacre (1976) for foreground, namely,

- * Agent orientation,
- * Accomplished time and
- * Chronological linkage.

3.9.1.1.2 *Foreground as human salience*

Foreground is also been characterized in terms of saliency or importance (Talmy 1978, Hopper & Thompson 1980, Fleischman 1985, Tomlin 1987, Longacre 1989, Chvany 1993, Dothwaite 2000). What is important or salient for humans is highlighted, emphasized or focused on in communication (Dothwaite 2000). Human saliency seems to be judged in terms of additional factors, such as transitivity, telicity and volitional verbs or punctual aspect (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980). The application of these additional factors tends to place the difference between background and foreground on a continuum rather than on an either/or relation (Talmy 1978, Fleischman 1990, Youssef & James 1999). Information is placed in the foreground because it is more important, or significant or central to the narrative (Hopper & Thompson 1980, Givon 1984, Tomlin 1987, Longacre 1989). The interpretation of information always depends on what humans consider noteworthy, informative, salient, memorable or outstanding (Givon 1984). Thus, in narratives, information may be foreground because it serves as the focus, or discourse topic or theme.

3.9.1.2 *The nature of background information*

Background information plays no role in the development or advancement of the plot of a narrative. The reason for this is that background information provides a supporting role to the foregrounded information (Labov & Waletzky 1967, Labov 1972, Longacre 1979, Hopper 1979, Hopper & Thompson 1980, Fleischman 1985).

Hopper and Thompson (1980: 280) characterize backgrounded information as,

That part of a discourse which does not immediately and crucially contribute to the speaker's goal, *but which merely assists, amplifies or comments on it*, is referred to as background.

Wårvik (1990: 559) characterizes background information as

Consisting of various kinds of supportive and amplifying material, such as identifications, explanations, and comments on the sequential story-line.

Richter (1987: 31) also summarizes the nature of backgrounded information as follows:

These are descriptions or commentaries but nevertheless in Genette's terms they seem to belong to the discourse rather than the story, or as Henry James would have put it, they belong to the treatment rather than the subject.

To summarize:

Background thus expresses the following types of information:

- (i) Setting
- (ii) Evaluative information
- (iii) Collateral information
- (iv) Repetitive information
- (v) Explanatory information
- (vi) Commentaries

- (vii) Descriptions and
- (viii) Summaries.

3.9.2 Tense and aspect as text–structuring devices

Various discourse features determine the textual boundaries of a text (cf. Hasan 1978, Ventola 1989, Waugh 1990). In support of the role of cohesion as a demarcative device in discourse, Hasan (1978: 242) states:

The boundaries of a text can normally be determined by reference to patterns of cohesion.

This statement implies that grammatical devices and lexical relations within a text are responsible for marking textual boundaries. Taking the contribution of Hasan (1978) as a point of departure, Waugh (1990) considers the function of tense as a text-structuring device. In support of this demarcative function of tense in discourse, Waugh (1990: 246) states:

With regard to the more global factors, the SP [Simple Past – Ranamane] helps to bring out the configuration (or construction) of the text by marking either its ultimate limits (beginning or end), or its internal subdivisions, or in more pointed manner, particular steps in its logical construction.

In the above quotation, Waugh (1990) holds the opinion that the Simple Past (SP) in French marks textual boundaries such as the beginning, end or the internal subdivisions of a text. On the other hand, Wolfson (1985) characterizes the function of the historical present tense as the identification of the climax of a conversation

3.9.2.1 Tense and aspect as markers of discourse units

It will be argued in this thesis that tense and aspect perform a text–structuring role in texts in the sense that it divides a text into discourse units. Each of these discourse units comprises a cluster of paragraphs identified as an episode. An episode is characterized

structurally as a unit with a beginning, middle and end (cf. Linell and Korolija 1997 and Caenepeel 1995). In the case of a narrative text, all the episodes except the last one have a beginning and middle. The conclusion of the episode would be suspended until the final episode. The reason for this could be that the episodes contain sub-themes within a main overreaching theme.

3.9.2.2 *Tense and aspect as markers of discourse units within discourse units*

It will be argued in this thesis that tense and aspect are responsible for demarcating a paragraph into smaller units within a paragraph unit. The reason for demarcating these paragraph units is the fact that these units contain unrelated information. The role of the past tense marker in this instance serves to identify the different sub-sections of a paragraph that express unrelated content.

3.9.3 Tense as the indicator of the interpersonal function

In this thesis, Halliday's (1970) concept interpersonal function is adopted. Halliday (1970) distinguishes three types of language functions, namely the ideational, textual and the interpersonal functions. The ideational function deals with the propositional content and the textual function with the linguistic resources for creating coherence. On the other hand, Halliday and Hasan (1976: 26-27) characterize the interpersonal function in the following way:

The social, expressive and conative functions of language, which express the speaker's angle: his attitudes and judgements, his encoding of the social relationships into the situation, and his motive in saying anything at all. We can summarize these by saying that the ideational component represents the speaker in his role as observer, while the interpersonal component represents the speaker in his role as intruder.

Firstly, the social function forms part of the interpersonal function because it is concerned with the interactive nature of language. That is, it characterizes language as a social act (Halliday 1970). Furthermore, the social function also forms part of the interpersonal function because it stresses the role of the speaker and the hearer in

communication in “affirming their own statuses and roles, establishing and transmitting the shared systems of value and knowledge” (Halliday 1978: 2). This function is manifested in the form of dialect and register variations, dialect variation as a result of social structures and register variation in the form of social processes (Halliday 1978).

The expressive function, on the other hand, is concerned with the emotive function of language. The analysis of this function takes into consideration how language reflects the emotions of the speaker or writer particularly in expressing feelings of pain, happiness and sorrow. Thus, language is seen to be imbued with attitudes and opinions. Finally, the conative function forms part of the interpersonal function because it deals specifically with the speaker or writer addressing the hearer or reader. This language function is reflected in the use of vocatives and commands.

The interpersonal function could be interpreted in terms of human interactions (Fowler 1977, Lanser 1981, Calzada-Pérez 1998) because it encodes the intention of the speaker. Fowler (1977: 21) elaborates on this function as follows:

Consciously or not, we address an interlocutor, someone with his own voice characteristics and opinions, and he may answer back.

This human interaction is necessary in the imparting of ideas within a particular community (Halliday & Hasan 1976, Fowler 1977, Calzada-Pérez 1998).

In this thesis I prefer the concept interpersonal function to point of view (e.g. Fowler 1977, Lanser 1981), ideology (e.g. Kress 1977, Calzada-Pérez 1998), empathy (Kuno 1976) and modality (Doležal 1977). The notion interpersonal function has not only become the standard term in linguistics, but it also encompasses the social, expressive and conative functions. It also deals with the speaker's or writer's attitudes as well as the writer-text-reader relationship (cf. Halliday & Hasan 1976, Fowler 1977, Kuno 1976, 1977, Langacker 1990). The interpersonal function could be reflected in language through the use of various grammatical phenomena such as tense, pronouns, speech acts, auxiliary verbs and locative expressions.

In this thesis we will examine the uses and significances of tense and aspect in the

expression of the interpersonal function.

3.10 CONCLUSION

In this subsection, the key terms tense, aspect and narrative have been carefully defined by providing their key features. Tense is defined in terms of Reichenbach's (1947) time of reference, time of speech act and the time of event. On the other hand, aspect is defined in terms of the beginning, progression and termination of an event. As a result, two types of aspects are distinguished, namely grammatical and lexical aspects.

Furthermore, in this chapter a survey of the tense and aspect system in Setswana has been presented. Finally, the various functions including grounding, text-structure as well as the interpersonal functions have been outlined.

CHAPTER 4

GROUNDING AS A DISCOURSE FUNCTION OF TENSE AND ASPECT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I analyse the use and the significances of tense and aspect in the Setswana narrative texts, namely *Ngaka, mosadi mooka* (Dr. a wife is indispensable), *Omphile Umphi Modise* (Three names of the main character) and *Bogosi Kupe* (The kingdom is sacred) by D.P.S. Monyaise. In essence, this section provides an empirical study of the semantic principles underlying tense and aspect in the analysis of their discourse functions. In achieving this aim, I examine the role of tense and aspect in organizing a literary text in terms of grounding. Finally, I compare the findings in this chapter to the findings recorded earlier in discourse analysis with a view to determine whether these findings support or reject the findings in earlier analyses.

4.2 TENSE AND ASPECT IN GROUNDING

In chapter 1, I posited three research questions about the uses and significances of tense and aspect in the Setswana narrative texts. The first research question is structured as follows:

Research question 1

- (i) What are the uses and significances of the various tenses in the text with regard to foreground and background?
- (ii) What are the uses and significances of the various aspectual forms with regard to background?

In this section, we will attempt to answer the research question provided above by providing data from *Omphile Umphi Modise*, *Ngaka, mosadi mooka* and *Bogosi kupe* by D. P. S. Monyaise. Following Labov and Waletzky (1967), we shall adopt the

structural parts of a narrative as consisting of a setting or orientation, a complication, an evaluation and a coda. Furthermore, in the analysis of the narrative texts, we pay a great deal of attention to the form of tense and aspect in the main clause and not in the subordinate clauses because the use of tense and aspect in the subordinate clause is inconsistent. As already stated in the foregoing chapters, xxx indicates the position where the past tense marker has been deleted.

4.2.1 Setting or orientation

Stein and Glen (1979) maintain that a setting performs a dual function: introducing the characters and describing the social, physical or the temporal context in the story. According to them, the information provided in the setting is basically stative in nature and contains habitual states of characters or spatial orientation. The setting can also provide contextual information by explaining the necessity for the incidents that follow. Thus it usually occurs at the beginning of the story, although other locations of the setting in the story are not discounted. Usually the orientation, together with the abstract, provides background information to the story. As a result, their occurrence in a narrative is not obligatory but optional.

Two tenses are typically used in the development of narrative settings, namely the past tense and the present tense. In the examples below the use of these two tenses are excerpted from the three Setswana novels by Monyaise mentioned above.

4.2.1.1 *The use of the past tense*

The general setting of a story of a Setswana narrative is described in the past tense as exemplified below from Monyaise's (1965) *Ngaka, mosadi mooka*:

1.1 E ne e le kgwedi ya borataro Diarona
 sc. pst. sc. be month poss. c. six Diarona

a robetse mo phateng ya kokelo mo Perekwane.
 sc. sleep (perf.) on mat (loc.) of hospital at Baragwaneth.

(It was the sixth month that Diarona had been bedridden at the Baragwanath

Hospital.)

- 1.2 Nako xxx e le ya mampa a podi ka
Time xxx sc. be poss. c belly poss. c. goat on

tsatsi la Matlhatso,
sun on washing-day.

(The time was four o'clock in the afternoon, on Saturday.)

- 1.3 Fa a gadima mo letsholeng xxx a bona
When sc. look-back at window xxx sc. see

Mooki Stella wa Mofolo mosetsana wa thupa tsa
nurse Stella poss. c. Mofolo girl poss. c. stick of

maretlwa, motho wa marata- go- lejwa, wa matlho
wildberries person poss. c. love to look (pass.)poss.c. eyes

a koma a tla ntlheng ya kwa phaposeng
poss. c. tin sc. come side poss. c. at room (loc.)

ya gagwe
poss. c. her.

(When she looked back through the window, she saw nurse Stella of Mofolo, a slender and beautiful girl with bright eyes coming in the direction of her ward;)

- 1.4 Mme xxx a lemoga ka motsamao wa gagwe
But xxx sc realize by walk poss. c. her

gore o itumetse.
that sc. happy (perf.).

(But she realised by her movement that she was happy.)

1.5 Mogopolo xxx wa boela kwa tsatsing la
Thinking xxx sc. go (ben.) at sun (loc.) adj. c.

Matlhatso – aa! bogologolo-tala - fa a tla ka
Washing-day oh! long-long ago when sc. come by

terena le mosimane wa lekolwane wa
train and boy poss. c. vulture poss. c.

tedu tsa katse.
bear poss. c. cat

(Her mind went back to Saturday – long long time ago – when she boarded a train with a man wearing a moustache.)

1.6 xxx a gakologelwa gore o ne a paralala
xxx sc. remember (pass.) that sc. pst. sc. cross

jaaka monwana o le botlhoko go fitlha
like finger sc. be pain to arrive

kwa Naledi, le mo dibekeng tse di
at Naledi and at weeks (loc.) rel. c. sc.

latelang

follow (rel. suff.)

(She remembered that she bluntly refused his advances until they reached Naledi and even the following weeks.)

1.7 xxx a supa sweu;
xxx sc point white
(She rejected his advances point blank.)

1.8 Mme ka pelo xxx e le selo fela, xxx ya mo
But by heart xxx sc. be thing only xxx sc. oc.

ela motlhaje le mosimane.
 go ((ben.) oversee and boy
 (But as the heart was easily won, it fell fondly for the guy.)

1.9 Ke fa a tla itse go jela ka mogopo
 Be when sc. fut. know to eat (ben.) by plate

o mosweu, go ja nakaladi kobolela le
 adj. c. white to eat berries wild and

Pule.

Pule

(It is then that she understood the true meaning of love in the company
 of Pule.)

(Monyaise, 1965, p. 1)

The above paragraph qualifies as the narrative setting or orientation because it describes the spatio-temporal setting where the story is taking place as well as the physical features of Stella. This setting is described in terms of three temporal adverbs, two spatial adverbs, and an adverb of manner. The temporal adverbs include *kgwedi ya borataro* (the sixth month), *ka tsatsi la Matlhatso* (on Saturday) and *nako e le mampa a podi* (in the afternoon). On the other hand, the spatial adverbs are *mo phateng ya kokelo* (on the bed in hospital), *mo Perekwane* (at the Baranagwath Hospital), *mo letsholeng* (through the window) and *ntlheng ya kwa phaposeng ya gagwe* (in the direction of her ward). Furthermore, the adverb of manner is *ka motsamao wa gagwe* (with her movement). On top of that, the paragraph introduces two protagonists, Diarona and Stella. The paragraph also provides the description of Stella as *mosetsana wa Mofolo* (a Mofolo girl) *mosetsana wa thupa tsa maretlwa* (a slender girl), *motho wa marata-go-lejwa* (a beautiful girl), and *wa matlho a koma* (with bright eyes). Moreover, various types of predicates including the action verbs are used in the paragraph, e.g. *a gadima* (she turned her face) and *a tla* (she came); the stative verbs, e.g. *a robetse* (she slept), *a bona* (she saw) and *a lemoga* (she realized); and the copulative verb, e.g. *e ne e le* (it was). This spatio-temporal paragraph is in the past tense as indicated by the use of the

past tense marker {-*ne*-} in the initial sentence (1.1).

In addition to the general setting of a story, an episode or a series of episodes may also be introduced by a setting. Here follows an example of such an episodic setting in the past tense:

- 2.1 E *ne* e le maitsiboa a tsatsi la
 sc. pst. sc. be evening poss.c. sun poss.c.
- modikwadikwane mo kgokgotshwaneng ya kwa motsheo
 dance at wind-pipe (dim.) poss.c at far
- ntlheng ya borwa gaufi le batho ba
 side poss.c. south near and people poss.c.
- diphala ba ba neng ba leletsa tlase
 trumpets who sc. pst. sc. blow down
- go fitlhela motshameko o simologa go dutse
 to arrive competition sc. start to sit (perf.)

Stella le Pule.

Stella and Pule

(It was the evening of the dancing competition day, in the distant row in the south, near the band that was playing softly before the dance started, that Stella and Pule were seated.)

- 2.2 Ka fa letsogong la moja xxx go dutse Naomi
 On at hand (loc.) poss.c. right xxx to sit (perf.) Naomi
 (On the right, Naomi was seated.)

- 2.3 Ka fa botlhabatsatsi jwa bone xxx e le
 On at east poss. c. them xxx. sc. be

| | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|--------|---------|-----|--------------|
| setlhopha | sa | baoki | ba | ba | tlileng |
| group | poss.c | nurses | rel. c. | sc. | come (perf.) |

modikwadikwaneng

dance (loc.)

(On their eastern side, there was a group of nurses who were attending the competition.)

- 2.4 bangwe xxx ba apere moaparo o moša o o
 some xxx sc. wear (perf.) attire sc. new which sc.

| | | | | | |
|------------------|--|-----|----------|----|--------------|
| neng | | o | simolola | mo | Gauteng; |
| pst. (rel. suf.) | | sc. | start | in | Johannesburg |

(Some had put on attires that had originated in Johannesburg.)

- 2.5 Mesese nka mpa ka re dipurapura xxx e
 Dresses sc.-can rather can say gowns xxx sc.

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|----------|---------|-----|------|-----|-----|------|
| phatsima | dinaledi | gonne | e | a | bo | e | ne |
| shine | stars | because | sc. | asp. | can | sc. | pst. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------|-----|--------------|-----|--------------|----|---------|
| e | le | tsatsi | le | bomadimanana | bo | itshupang | ka | botlalo |
| sc. | be | sun | and | blood-youths | sc. | show (refl.) | in | full |

(Dresses, or should I say gowns, shining stars because it was the day on which the youths paraded their true wares.)

(Monyaise, 1965, p. 46)

The paragraph in example 2 also qualifies as a narrative setting or orientation because it introduces the spatio-temporal setting for a specific episode or a set of episodes involving the injury of Stella and her attempted murder by Naomi. The setting provides the location where the dancing competition is taking place as well as furnishing the readers with the names of the three main protagonists, *Stella*, *Pule* and *Naomi*. It also qualifies as a narrative orientation because it is described in terms of temporal and spatial adverbs. The temporal adverb is *maitsiboa* (evening), a *letsatsi*

la modikwadikwane (the dancing competition day) and the spatial adverbs include *mo kgokgotshwaneng ya kwa motsheo* (in the distant row), *ntlheng ya borwa* (toward the south), *gaufi* (near), *ka fa letsogong la moja* (on the right hand), *modikwadikwaneng* (at dancing), and *mo Gauteng* (in Johannesburg). Note that this episodic setting is also expressed in the past tense.

Each of these two settings (i.e. in example 1 and 2) form a part of a broader setting, being the Baragwanath hospital in Soweto, Johannesburg and its surroundings. The setting in example 1 is the scene within Diarona's ward in the hospital and in example 2 the scene is within the hospital hall. Furthermore, the introductory utterances in these two paragraphs conform to the structural form of *it + be + adv.place + conj. + noun + predicate + adv. place*. Expressed in simple terms, the paragraphs describe the locale or setting. The appearance of the past tense marker in both examples performs a primary role of placing the events in the past. The setting expresses background information (cf. Björklund.1993, Fleischman 1991, Fludernik 2003) because it has nothing to do with the recounting of the story.

4.2.1.2 *The use of the present tense*

Apart from the use of the past tense, the present tense is also used in expressing the setting. In the following example excerpted from Monyaise's (1959) *Omphile Umphi Modise*, the setting is expressed in the present tense:

| | | | | | | |
|-----|---------|----------|------------------|-------------|---------|----------|
| 3.1 | Molapo | wa | Encandu | o | fologa | kwa |
| | River | poss. c. | Encandu | sc.(pres.) | descend | at |
| | godimo | kwa | dithabeng | jaaka | noga | ya |
| | high | at | mountains (loc.) | like | snake | poss. c. |
| | tlhware | e | sa | tswa | go | metsa |
| | python | sc. | still (prog.) | return-from | to | swallow |

photi;

duiker

(The Encandu River flows down the mountain like a python that has just swallowed a duiker.)

- 3.2 O matsoketsoke go ya kgakala
 sc. zigzag to go far
- kwa mawatleng gare ga mpa ya
 at oceans (loc.) in at belly poss c.
- lefatshe kwa merafe e sa ntseng e
 earth at tribes rel. c. still sit (loc.) sc.

Jana ka meno gona
eat (rec.) by tooth (pl.) there

(It is zigzagging on its long way to the ocean, inside the heart of the land where the tribes savagely destroy one another.)

- 3.3 O fologa o le malekeleke mo
 sc. descend sc. be long-long on
- mesing ya meso
 smokes poss. c. mornings.
- (It flows down as a lengthy heavy stream in the cascading falls)

- 3.4 o itsoketsa ka dithito tsa
 sc. wind by stems poss. c.
- ditlhare tsa magokare
 trees poss. c. palmtrees
- (It zigzags around the trunks of palm trees.)

3.5 Mo lobopong lwa ona namane tse ditona
 On bank (loc.) poss. c. it calf adj.c. big

bokwena ba isitse dimpa godimo ba
 crocodiles sc. take (caus-perf..) belly high sc.

arametse marang a manaana a letsatsi
 bask rays adj.c. white & brown sc. sun

le le sa ntseng le dumedisa kwa tlhoeng
 rel. c. sc. still stay sc. greet at apex

tsa thaba e pudutswana ele.
 poss.c. mountain poss. c. grey (dim.) that

(On its valley, large crocodiles are lying on their backs, basking in the rays of the morning sun that has just risen from the top of that grey mountain.)

3.6 Gangwe le gape kwena o ina nko
 One and again crocodile sc. dip nose

mo metsing go inola phologotswana e
 on water (loc.) to take out animal (dim.) rel. c.

e makgakga e a e raeletseng mo diphatseng.
 sc arrogant rel.c. oc. sc. trap (rel. suf.) on troubles (loc.)

(Now and then, a crocodile dips its mouth into the water to pull out a cunning animal that it cleverly caught.)

3.7. Mo dikaleng tsa ditlhare molope le batlhanka
 At branch (loc.) poss.c. trees widow-bird and servants

bothaga o (pres.) kgadiepetsa o bo o kgadiepetsa o
 sparrows sc. shout sc. cond. sc. shout sc.

| | | | | | | |
|---------|-----|-------|-----|---------|---------|------------|
| kgabola | o | bo | o | kgabola | gonne | mafitlholo |
| pass | sc. | cond. | sc. | pass | because | breakfasts |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|------|-----|-------|-----|----|-----|------|---------------|
| ga | a | ise | a | siame | mme | fa | o | sa | itlhaganele |
| neg. | sc. | neg. | sc. | ready | but | if | sc. | neg. | hurry (refl.) |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|--------|-------|-----|-------------|--------|------|-----|
| o | tla | fitlha | thari | kwa | pitsong | ya | bona | le |
| sc. | fut. | arrive | late | at | meet (loc.) | poss.c | they | and |

tlhomedl.

butcher-bird

(On the branches of trees, a widow-bird together with robins, sings melodiously, flying to and fro, because the breakfast is not yet ready, and if she does not hurry, she will be late for her meeting with the butcher-bird.)

3.8 Kwa godimo kwa tlhoeng kwa mo molapong
 At high at apex at on river (loc.)

| | | | | | |
|---------|---------|--------|---------------|-------|----|
| wa | Encandu | o | simologang | teng | go |
| poss.c. | Encandu | rel.c. | start (neut.) | there | to |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------|--------|----|------|-------|-----|----|---------|
| thibile | mosi | etswa | e | se | mosi | e | le | mouwane |
| thicken (perf.) | smoke | though | sc | neg. | smoke | sc. | be | mist |

| | | | | | | |
|--------|-------|-----|----------|-----------|-----|----------|
| wa | metsi | a | tshologa | maphororo | a | gosomana |
| poss.c | water | sc. | spill | falls | sc. | fall |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|-------|---------------|---------|--------|----|-----------|
| dikgosomano | tlase | tennyana- | a- | teng | mo | maleng |
| thuds | down | inside (dim.) | poss.c. | inside | on | intestine |

| | | | | | |
|---------|----------|--------------|---------|--------|---------------|
| a | lefatshe | dikgageng | tsa | madimo | majabatho |
| poss. c | earth | caves (loc.) | poss.c. | giants | people-eaters |

(High up at the apex of the mountain, where the Encandu river starts, the

smoke has thickened, though it is not a smoke, but a mist of water falling down loudly, thudding down in heavy thuds, down onto the heart of the earth, into the caves of the giants, the man-eaters.)

(Monyaise, 1959, pp. 44 – 45)

The above paragraph also provides the spatio-temporal setting because it gives the spatial description of *Molapo wa Encandu* (the Encandu River) and its surroundings. The paragraph contains predicates of motions, such as *o fologa* (it flows down), *o matsoketsoke* (it winds), *o fologa* (it flows down), and *o itsoketsa* (it twines spirally). The close surroundings include various trees, e.g. *dithito tsa ditlhare tsa magokare* (trunks of palm trees) and *dikaleng tsa ditlhare* (the tree branches), the animals that habitate it such as *dikwena* (crocodiles) and the different birds e.g. *molope* (widow-bird), *bothaga* (weavers) and *tlhomedi* (butcher-bird). If they were in the past tense, the predicates would be *o ne o fologa* (it flew down), *o ne o le matsoketsoke* (it was winding), and *o ne o itsoketsa* (it twined spirally). The paragraph is expressed in the present tense because the narrator attempts to make the scene vivid to the reader.

The use of the present tense in the following example from Monyaise's (1967) *Bogosi Kupe* is consistent with its use in the preceding example:

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|----------|--------|----------|----------------|----------|-----------|
| 4.1 | Tsela | ya | moraka | wa | ga | Tukisang | e |
| | Road | poss.c | post | poss.c. | at | Tukisang | sc. |
| | tswa | motse | ka | fa | mošate | e | tlhatloga |
| | come | village | by | at | palace | sc. | ascend |
| | thotana | sebaka | se | setelele | go | fitlha | kwa |
| | hill (dim.) | distance | adj.c. | long | to | end | at |
| | motlhabeng | e | be | e | fologela | go | |
| | sand (loc.) | sc. | then | sc. | descend (ben.) | to | |

tloga fa e fologelang gona e tsena mo
 start at sc. descend (rel. suff) there sc. enter at

lerwaneng la ditlhatsana tsa maoka
 wood (dim.)(loc.) poss.c. trees (dim.) poss.c. acacia karoo

sekgala sa maele
 distance poss.c. mile

(The road to Tukisang's cattle post leaves the village from the palace, ascends a hilltop until it reaches a sandy place, and then descends. From the place where it descends, it moves into the woods of small acacia karoo trees for about a mile.)

4.2 Ya bobedi e bapa le molapo go
 Poss. c. two sc. run and river to

tswa mo motseng go fitlha fa molapo o
 start on village (loc.) to end at river sc

itsoketsang gona go leba bokone e be e
 wind (rel.suff.) there to move north sc. then sc.

tsena ka mo ditlhareng tsa makgalo.
 enter by at trees (loc.) poss.c. zizyphus.

(The second road runs parallel to the river from the village up to the area where the river turns towards the north, then it gets into the the bushes of zizyphys mucronata.)

4.3 Ditsela tse pedi tse di kopanela gaufi le
 Roads adj.c. two these sc. meet (ben.) near and

sekgwa se e reng motho a tswa mo go
 bush this sc. say (rel.suff) person sc. come on to

sona a lebe moraka wa ga Tukisang.
 it sc. move post poss.c. at Tukisang

(These two roads converge near the woods where when passing them you see Tukisang's cattle post.)

(Monyaise, 1967, pp. 23–24)

The paragraph in the above example is descriptive in nature because it describes the road to Tukisang's cattle post. It therefore qualifies as a narrative orientation because it provides the location where the events are taking place. Another overriding reason for its qualification as a setting is that it is, unlike other descriptive paragraphs in the text, studded with motion predicates and not with stative verbs as Stein and Glen (1979) explain. According to Stein and Glenn (1979: 59), the type of information contained in the setting is basically stative in nature and contains habitual states of characters or locations. These verbs are *e tswa* (comes out), *e tlhatloga* (it ascends), *e be e fologela* (then it descends), *e tsena* (it gets into), *e bapa* (it moves parallel to), *e be e tsena* (it then gets into), and *di kopanela* (they meet at). These motion predicates describe how the two roads meet near Tukisang's cattle post. This setting, like that in example 3, is described in the present tense and also expresses background information.

The role of the present is to give the spatio-temporal setting a dimension of reality (Hambürger 1973) because it collapses the narrated time and the narrating time. The main reason for giving the setting a dimension of reality is to bring the reader into the picture to experience the narration as an eyewitness (Björklund 1993). It therefore serves to evoke the thoughts and feelings of a reader as if (s)he sees a real picture (Fludernik 2003).

From these few examples, one could draw the conclusion that a narrative orientation or setting is expressed in both the present and past tenses. The past tense is used in paragraph 1 and 2 and the present tense in paragraph 3 and 4. The role of the past tense is to temporarily anchor the fictitious events. On the other hand, the use of the present tense in the spatial-temporal setting is to serve as a bridge between fiction and fact. That is, it collapses the narrated time and the time of narration with a view to giving the narrative setting an element of reality. This finding of the use of the past

and present tenses in the orientation is in line with Fludernik (2003) who also recognizes the use of both tenses in the orientation.

This finding that the narrative setting is in the past tense seems to be contrary to the views expressed by Thompson and Hopper (1980) who associate orientation with the imperfective aspect only. These scholars base their conclusion on the fact that the setting provides backgrounded information and as such does not advance the narrative plot. The past tense supposedly is not the proper vehicle for its actualization. The finding of this thesis is that the narrative setting provides background information and admits both the past and present tenses depending on the intention of the narrator.

4.2.2 Complication

The complication is an obligatory part of a narrative because it comprises sequentially-ordered information that leads to the high point of the story (Stein & Glen 1979). That is, it deals with story-telling acts in a narrative. A narrative is characterized as consisting of at least two sequentially-ordered events (Labov & Waletzky 1967, Prince 1982). In such a case, these events automatically form the complicating actions of the narrative. Put differently, the complication constitutes the foreground information.

In this section we are going to analyse the texts from Monyaise's *Ngaka mosadi mooka* (1965), *Omphile Umphi Modise* (1959) and *Bogosi kupe* (1967) with a view to determine the uses and significances of tense and aspect in the complication of a narrative. In this narrative structure, various tenses and aspects are used for various reasons. My intention is hopefully to determine these reasons.

4.2.2.1 *The use of the past tense*

The use of the past tense is exemplified in the following:

5.1 Phala xxx ya lela
 Trumpet xxx sc. ring
 (The trumpet played.)

5.2 Morole o mosesane xxx wa bothologa go
 Youth adj.c. thin xxx sc. leave to

 relela mo bodilong ka botswerere
 slip on stage by magnificent
 (The youths got out of their chairs to dance magnificently on the floor.)

5.3 Jaaka gale Naomi xxx a sesela e kete ga a
 As always Naomi xxx sc. dance as if neg. sc.

 gate lefatshe gonne pina e ne e le mo
 touch earth because song sc. pst sc. be on

 dinaong tsa gagwe.
 feet poss. c. her
 (As usual, Naomi danced, as if she was not touching the ground
 because the song was imbued in her feet.)

5.4 Morago ga pina ya bobedi boStella xxx ba
 After adj. c. song adj.c two Stella & co. xxx sc.

 ya go iphokisa phefo kwa ntle mmogo
 go to inhale (refl.) air at outside together

 le bontsinyana bo bongwe.
 and many (dim.) adj.c. one
 (After the second song, Stella and company moved outside to take a
 breather, together with a number of people.)

5.5 Ngaka le ena xxx a nanoga a
 Doctor and he xxx sc. stood-up sc.

setswe morago ke Naomi.

follow (pass.) after by Naomi

(Dr Bodigelo also got up followed by Naomi.)

5.6 Morago ga sebakanyana basetsana xxx ba
 After adj.c. while (dim.) girls xxx sc.

tswa ka mojako o o fa tlhakoreng ba
 go-out by door rel.c. sc. at. side(loc.) sc.

fitlha ba ema mo lefitshwaneng ba gadima
 arrive sc. stand at dark (dim.loc.) sc. look

kwa le kwa.

this and this

(After a while, the girls went out through the side door, they then stopped in the dark, looking both ways.)

5.7 Mongwe xxx a letsa molodi ntlheng
 One xxx sc ring whistle side (loc.)

ya bophirima;

poss.c. west

(Someone whistled from the direction of the west.)

5.8 xxx Ba kabakanya sebakanyana mme ba
 xxx sc. think while (dim.) but sc.

tloga ba tsamaela kwa moloding;
 then sc. walk (ben.) at whistle (loc.)
 (They talked for a few minutes and then moved in the direction of the
 whistle.)

5.9 xxx Ba ganelela go iphaphatha ka ditlhare
 xxx sc. refuse (ben.) to refl.-full by trees

gaufi le dipone.
 near and lights
 (They moved parallel to the trees closer to the lights.)

5.10 xxx Ba tsamaya ba ntse ba tlhwaile tsebe
 xxx sc. walk sc. still sc. listen ear
 (They walked listening attentively.)

5.11 Fa ba sena go katoga mosimane xxx a
 When sc. after to move boy xxx sc.

 tswa mo sekhing sa ditšheše a
 come-out from bush (loc.) poss. c. flowers sc

 ema mo tseleng ya bona.
 stand in road (loc.) poss. c. they
 (After walking for a while, a boy came out of the bushes of flowers and
 stepped in their way.)

5.12 Ba xxx ngonangonetsa.
 sc. xxx whisper
 (They whispered.)

5.13 xxx A tloga a re ba ile jaana
 xxx sc. then sc. say sc. go (perf.) that-way
 (Then he pointed in the direction they took.)

5.14 Morafe otlhe Stella le Pule Ngaka Bodigelo le
 Tribe whole Stella and Pule Dr. Bodigelo and

Naomi kwa morago jaaka kgomo ya sekoba.

Naomi at back like cow poss. c. chase

(The whole community – Stella and Pule, Dr. Bodigelo and Naomi at the back like a chasing cow.)

(Monyaise, 1965, p. 47)

The paragraph given above is part of the complication of the narrative because it recounts a series of events occurring sequentially. Firstly the band plays the trumpets and then the nurses and their partners dance to the tune of the music. Then finally the main interval arrives and everybody moves outside the hall for a breather. Another factor that seems to support the contention that this is a complication is that the majority of predicates in the paragraph are made up of action verbs. The use of these verbs together with a variety of events is to indicate that the paragraph deals with the foreground material and that they develop the plot of a narrative. These action verbs include *ya lela* (it trumpeted), *wa bothologa* (they stood up), *a sesela* (she danced), *ga a gate* (she does not touch), *ba ya* (they went), *a nanoga a setswe* (he stood up followed by), *ba tswa* (they went out), *ba fitlha ba ema* (they finally stopped), *ba gadima* (they looked back), *a letsa* (he whistled), *ba tloga ba tsamaela* (they went in the direction of), *ba tsamaya* (they walked), *a tswa* (he went out) *a ema* (he stopped), *ba ngonangonetsa* (they whispered) *ba kabakanya* (they thought) and others. The stative verb is the copulative predicate *e ne e le mo* (it was in her). This foreground material is narrated in the past tense. This therefore implies that the paragraph is studded with sequentially-ordered events. The information given here therefore constitutes the foreground.

In the following example, the foreground and background come to the fore and are both expressed in the past:

6.1 Stella le Pule xxx ba tswa mo mogoteng wa
 Stella and Pule xxx sc. come-out from heat poss. c.

modikwadikwane wa baoki go iphokisa phefo kwa ntle
dancing poss.c. nurses to inhale air at out
(Stella and Pule moved out of the hot hall of the dancing competition for
a breather outside.)

- 6.2 Gaufi le tselana ya bona xxx go le ditšheše
Near and road (dim.) poss. c. they xxx sc. be flowers
- tse di lonko monate mme lo nyalana
adj.c. sc. smell nice but sc correspond
- le maikutlo a bone.
and feelings poss.c. they
(Near their path there were sweet smelling flowers which intensified
their feelings.)

- 6.3 Fa e kete ba tla di fapaanya Stella xxx a
When as if sc. fut. oc. cross (caus) Stella xxx sc.
- ingaparela ka letsogo la moeka xxx a
grab (refl.) by hand poss. c. guy xxx sc.
- ba a mo kgaodisa mafoko a a
then sc. oc. cut (caus.) words rel. c. sc
- monatšana a o neng a a
sweet (dim.) sc. oc. (rel. suff.) pst sc. oc
- tlhama ka botswerere jwa moreti
create by creativity poss.c. poet
(When they were about to pass them, Stella clutched at the guy's arm,
and she abruptly forced him to cut short the sweet words, which he was
creating with the brilliancy of a poet.)

6.4 Fa a botsa gore molato ke eng xxx a supa
 When sc. ask that problem be what xxx sc. point

setlhatshana.

tree (dim.).

(When he asked her what was wrong, she pointed at the small tree.)

(Monyaise, 1965, pp. 6-7)

The paragraph in example 6 contains both the foreground and background information. The foreground information is realized in sentence 6.1, 6.3 and 6.4 and the background in sentence 6.2. Sentence 6.1, 6.3 and 6.4 form the foreground because they advance the plot of the narrative. They therefore contribute to the event line. Furthermore, these sentences form the foreground because they consist mainly of action predicates. These are *ba tswa* (they came out), *a ingaparela* (she grabbed), *a ba a mo kgaodisa* (she stopped him from) and *a supa* (she pointed at). On the other hand, sentence 6.2 does not contribute to the event line. The reason is that it describes the path from the hall and its surroundings. The information contained in 6.2 has no relevance to the advancement of the plot. It is descriptive and static in nature and therefore forms part of the background. This sentence would have been part of the foreground if it were contributing to the plot of the narrative. It is not surprising that these sentences should contain both the foreground and the background. The main reason is that they constitute part of the complication, a part of the narrative where the narrative and nonnarrative elements are houses and are in abundance.

Finally, the paragraph is in the past tense even though it contains a covert past tense. This past tense marker can be inferred from the initial sentence of the introductory paragraph on page 1. This is the only occurrence of the overt past tense in the preceding pages. This therefore implies that this paragraph is part and parcel of the first episode in the text. The covert appearance of the past tense marker implies that the paragraph within which is deleted is intra-episodic.

4.2.2.2 *The use of the past perfect aspect*

In the complicating action of a narrative, we come across not only the past tense, but also other various types of aspects. In this section, we are going to take a close look at the role of the past perfect aspect in this part of the narrative.

The use of the past tense marker plus the perfective verb is exemplified in the following:

- 7.1 Mmê mmaMolamu xxx a dira motlholo a
Mother, mrs Molamu xxx sc. do miracle sc.

kgalema mogatse: "Rra!"
reprimand husband: "Hubby!"
(Mrs Molamu behaved mysteriously, she scolded her husband: "Darling!")

- 7.2 xxx a mo dilola.
xxx sc. oc. look
(He looked sharply at her.)

- 7.3 xxx a retologa go se kae a mo naya
xxx sc. turn (neut.) to neg. where sc. oc. give

motlhana.
back
(He turned a little, turning his back to her.)

- 7.4 Dan xxx a hupelwa ke ditshego
Dan xxx sc. contain (pass.) by laughs
(Dan contained his laughter.)

- 7.5 xxx a leka go rakanya matlho le Maria
xxx sc. try to meet (caus.) eyes and Maria

go mo raya a re le wena o gaufi.
to oc. say sc. say and you sc. near

(He tried to meet his eyes with that of Maria to inform her that she was the next.)

- 7.6 Maria o ne a lekile go tlhalosetsa Dan
Maria sc. pst. sc. try (perf.) to explain (ben.) Dan

gore rraagwe ke motho yo o ntseng
that father (her) be person rel. c. sc. stay (perf) (rel.suff.)

jang.

how.

(Maria had attempted to explain to Dan the nature of her father.)

- 7.7 Batsadi ba tsaya gore bana ba bona ga ba
Parents sc. take that children sc. they neg. sc.

a tshwanela go ba tshwaya diposo;
asp. must (ben.) to sc. mark mistakes

(Parents think that their children are not supposed to point out their mistakes.)

- 7.8 mme fa ba ka bo ba itse gore ba ba
but when sc. can cond. sc. know that rel. c. sc.

itse jaaka motho a itse tsela, ba ka bo ba
know like person sc. know road sc. can cond. sc.

iphutha metlhala gonne e le ruri e e
gather tracks because sc. be truth rel. c. sc.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----|-------------|-----|-------|--------|-----|
| anyang | e | leletse | e | ruta | e | e |
| wean (rel.suff.) | sc. | cry (perf.) | sc. | teach | rel. c | sc. |

mo maleng.

oc stomach (loc.)

(But if they knew that they know them like a person knowing a path, they would take care; because really a calf that weans from a pregnant cow, teaches the young one within the uterus.)

(Monyaise, 1965, p. 29)

The paragraph in example 7 contains both the foreground and background. The foreground is actualized in sentence 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5 and the background in 7.6, 7.7 and 7.8. The foreground is actualized in these sentences because they advance the plot of the narrative. Furthermore, the predicates in these sentences are also action verbs, thus supporting the view that they express the foreground. These verbs include *a dira* (he worked), *a kgalema* (she reprimanded), *a mo dilola* (he looked at), *a retologa go se kae* (he turned a little) and *a hupelwa* (he suppressed). On top of that, these sentences are expressed in the past tense. Remember that even though it has been omitted, the past tense marker is inferrable from the initial sentence which contains the past tense marker on page 25. As usual, the foreground is expressed in the past tense.

On the other hand, sentence 7.6 is expressed in the past perfect aspect because its predicate *o ne a lekile* contains the perfect suffix *-ile*. The sentence therefore provides the background. The role of the past perfect is to place the sentence in which it is expressed in its rightful place in the narrative. Thus the information in 7.6 comes before 7.1. That is, the information contained in it precedes the foreground information. As already stated in the preceding paragraph, the use of the past perfect aspect is to indicate flashback in the narrative. In this case, the past perfect aspect does not develop the plot of the narrative forward but places the event in its proper chronological order. Furthermore, sentence 7.7 and 7.8 also provide the background. These sentences are expressed in the present tense. The reason for the use of this tense is that the author interrupts the recounting of the events by addressing the reader directly, moralizing or teaching him/her about life in general. This implies that

in this case, the narrator performs extra non-narrative functions like teaching the readership. The use of the present tense in this case indicates the background because these two sentences deal with commentaries. Therefore, the information contained in them does not apply to the time line.

The following example also illustrates the consistent use of the past perfect aspect for indicating flashback in the narrative:

- 8.1 xxx Ga tsena basetsana ba ba alolang
 xxx sc. arrive girls rel. c. sc. prepare (rel. suf.)

malao a balwetsi wa Naledi le Mofolo
 beds poss. c. patients poss. c. Naledi and Mofolo

(There arrived the girls who prepared beds for patients, one from Naledi and the other from Mofolo.)

- 8.2 Phapose ya ga Diarona xxx e le yona e
 Room poss.c at Diarona xxx sc. be. it sc.

ba robang sogo mo go yona fa ba tshwere go
 oc. break rest on to it when sc. hold to

tšhotlha baoki le dingaka
 chew nurses and doctors

(Diarona's ward served as their resting place, when they discussed nurses and doctors.)

- 8.3 Wa Naledi o ne a kile a leka booki a
 poss. c. Naledi sc. pst. sc. once sc. try nursing sc

tsaya kgwedi tse tharo a ba a latlhegelwa ke
 take months poss. c three sc. then sc. lose (pass.) by

serethe sa setlhako
hill poss. c. shoe.

(The Naledi girl had taken nursing classes for three months and then fell pregnant.)

8.4 Fa a sena go se momela xxx a bona
When sc. finish to oc. sow xxx sc see

mosimane wa Benoni
boy poss. c. Benoni

(Thereafter, she fell in love with a guy from Benoni.)

8.5 xxx a ba a tsamaya a keleka mabenkele
xxx sc. then sc. walk sc. watch stores

a a rekisang dikhai tsa banyadi
rel. c. sc. sell (caus.) rel. suf.) clothes poss. c. brides

(And then she went out doing window shopping at the stores of wedding dresses.)

8.6 Ya re go le tsatsi lengwe moeka a etile xxx
sc. say to be sun one guy sc visit (perf.) xxx

a fitlhela mosetsana a sa ntse a
sc. find (ben) girl sc. still sit (perf) sc.

ile Gauteng
go (perf.) Johannesburg.

(One day, when he paid her a visit, the boyfriend only found that the girl had gone to Johannesburg.)

8.7 Fa a ntse a eme ka fa ntle mme yo
When sc. sit (perf.) sc. stand by there out mother rel.c.

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|-----|-----|---------|------|-----------|-----|
| o | agileng | le | ba | ga | gabo | mosetsana | xxx |
| sc. | build (rel.suf.) | and | the | poss. c | | girl | xxx |

a atamela

sc approach

(While he was still standing outside, the lady owner of next door house approached him.)

Ngaka mosadi mooka, ts. 10.

The paragraph in example 8 contains both foreground and background information. The foreground is expressed in sentence 8.1 and the background in sentence 8.2, 8.3, 8.4, 8.5, 8.6 and 8.7. The foreground is expressed in sentence 8.1 because it places the event on the time line, thus advancing the plot of the narrative. Moreover, this sentence contains an action verb in the predicate *ga tsena* (they arrived). On the other hand, sentence 8.2, 8.3, 8.4, 8.5, 8.6 and 8.7 provide background information for different reasons. Sentence 8.2 deals with background information because it is concerned primarily with the description of Diarona's ward. That is, it concentrates on Diarona's ward as the meeting place for bed-tenders. As a result, it has nothing to do with the advancement of the plot of the narrative. Furthermore, sentence 8.3, 8.4, 8.5, 8.6 and 8.7 also deal with background information because they provide the reader with old information concerning the Naledi girl. That is, this girl could not qualify as a nurse because she fell pregnant in the first year of her training, left the school and fell in love with a guy from Benoni and then later parted ways with him. Thus, this information forms the background because it provides explanatory information to the reader.

The tenses in these sentences are also different. The tenses in sentence 8.1 and 8.2 are in the past tense and that in 8.3, 8.4, 8.5, 8.6 and 8.7 in the past perfect aspect. Sentence 8.1 is expressed in the past tense because it deals with the foreground information and its role is to align it with events arranged on the time line. Furthermore, sentence 8.2 is in the past tense in order to describe a place or static scenery. Finally, sentence 8.3, 8.4, 8.5, 8.6, and 8.7 are in the past perfect aspect because they express flashback information. As a result, the information expressed in sentences 8.3 to 8.7 precedes that information contained in the paragraph as a

whole. Finally, these sentences (i.e. 8.3 to 8.7) provide background information because they do not contribute to the plot of the narrative.

The finding recorded with regard to the role of the past perfect aspect in Setswana is not new in the literature (McCoard 1978, Bartsch 1988). The use of the past perfect aspect in Setswana narrative texts tends to support the findings that it places the situation containing the past perfect aspect before the situation in the sentence before it. The past perfect aspect is applied to order the events in terms of their chronological order. As already stated, Caenepeel (1995) contends that the past perfect aspect can both refer back within or outside the current episodic structure.

4.2.2.3 *The use of the past habitual aspect*

Apart from the use of the past tense and past perfect aspect, the complication also exhibits in abundance the use of the habitual aspect. In this subsection, my intention is to single out and highlight the role for the use of this type of aspect.

In the following example from Monyaise's (1959) *Omphile Umphi Modise*, the use of the past habitual aspect is exemplified:

9.1 E ne e tle e re basimane ba sa batle go
 sc pst sc hab. sc. say boys sc. neg. want to

 ya sekolong ba tlhole ba iphitlhile kwa Phunyuka
 go school sc. spend sc. hide (refl.) at Phunyuka
 (It usually happened that when they did not want to go to school, the boys
 would hide themselves at Phunyuka.)

9.2 Maitseboa ba boele sekolong ba iphaphathile ka molapo
 Evenings sc. go school (loc.) sc. parallel (perf.) by river

 gore Madolo a se ka a ba bona
 that Madolo sc. neg. can sc. oc. see
 (In the evening, they would return to the school along the river so that Madolo

could not see them.)

- 9.3 Mo letsatsing la bone Modise a ntse a tshabela
On sun (loc.) poss c. four Modise sc. still sc. run (ben.)

kwa letsheng xxx a kopana le basimane ba kwa
at lake (loc.) xxx sc. meet and boys sc. at

ga Khunwana ba le bararo ba babedi ba le
at Khunwana rel. c. be three adj.c. two sc. be

mo ngwageng wa bofelo kwa Ideni
on year (loc.) poss. c. last at Ideni

wa boraro a le mošwa jaaka Modise.
adj. c. three sc. be new like Modise
(On the fourth day while he was spending time at the lake, Modise met three
boys from Ga Khunwana, two in the final class and one a newcomer like he
was.)

- 9.4 xxx Ba ithaya ba re ke wa lesomo
xxx sc. say (refl.) sc. say be adj. c. group

la bone
adj. c. they

(They thought that he was one of them.)

- 9.5 E ne e tle e re dikolo di sena go bulwa
sc pst sc hab. sc. say school sc. finish to open (pass.)

basimane ba fetse beke kgotsa tse pedi ba tthagolela
boys sc. finish week or adj.c. two sc. weed-out (ben.)

merogo kwa masimong;
vegetables at fields (loc.)

(It usually happened that immediately after the school opening, the boys would spend a week or two, weeding out in the vegetable fields.)

9.6 E re ba fetsa go tlhagola ba kgothe dipatlelo
sc. say sc. finish to weed-out sc. clean grounds

tsa metshameko ya sekolo,
poss. c. games poss.c. school

(When they finished, they would clean up the school sport ground.)

9.7. Jaanong xxx ba itse go tsena mo dithutong
Now xxx sc. know to enter on studies (loc.)

tsa bona mme bomatlhogojana ba ba botlhajana ba
poss.c. they but novices (dim.) rel. c. sc. clever (dim.) sc.

ngwegele Phunyuka.

flee (ben) Phunyuka

(Now they had to start with their education, and the clever newcomers fled to Phunyuka.)

(Monyaise, 1959, p. 46)

The paragraph in example 9 also contains both the foreground and the background. The foreground is realized in sentence 9.3 and 9.4 and these are in the past tense and the background in 9.1, 9.2, 9.5 and 9.6 and are expressed in the past habitual aspect. The role of the past tense in sentence 9.3 and 9.4 is to indicate that these sentences carry the plot of the narrative forward. On the one hand, the background is in 9.1, 9.2, 9.5 and 9.6 and is in the past habitual aspect. This type of aspect is indicated by the use of the past tense marker *-ne-* and the habitual morpheme *-tle-* as in 9.1 and 9.5. If the habitual morpheme has been omitted as in 9.2 and 9.5, the habitual aspect would be realized in the predicate of the main clause ending in *-e* as in *ba boele* (9.2) or through the maintenance of the final form of the verb *e-* as in *e re*

in 9.6. The role of the past habitual aspect is to indicate repetitive information. These sentences containing this type of aspect therefore express the background because first they express repetitive information and secondly because they are not concerned with story-telling acts.

4.2.2.4 *The use of the historical present tense*

Apart from the various tenses and aspects dealt with in the preceding paragraph, the historic present tense is applied in the complication. Richards et al. (1992: 167) refer to this tense as “a present tense used in a context where a past tense would normally be used.” In this subsection, my intention is to capture and highlight the use of the historic present. In the following paragraph, the historic present tense is used with a variety of other tenses and aspects:

- 10.1 Modise ke monna wa popota jaanong
 Modise be man poss. c. strong now
 (Modise is grown-up man now)

- 10.2 O tsweletsa lekgotla la
 sc. continue (caus.) association poss. c.
- Baitiredi pele mo motsemogolong wa Lakasanta
 workers forward at village-big (loc.) poss. c. Alexandra
 (He manages the Baitiredi Association in Alexandra.)

- 10.3 E tle e re ke feta ka tsela ke mmone a
 sc. hab. sc. say sc. pass by road sc. oc.-see sc.
- beile morwae mo maruding a eme mo
 put (perf.) son-his on shoulders sc stand (perf.) at
- kgorong ya ntlo ya gagwe e go tweng
 entrance (loc.) poss. c. house poss. c. his rel. c. to say (rel. Suff.)

e gaisa matlo a Lakasanta a otlhe
 sc. better houses poss. c. Alexandra. poss. c. all
 (When I pass by I usually see him carrying his son on his shoulders at the
 gate of his house which is said to be most beautiful in Alexandra.)

10.4 Matlakala o ritibetse
 Matlakala sc. relax (perf)
 (Matlakala is happy.)

10.5 Mogatsa wa ga Keoletile o tlhola mo
 Partner poss.c at Keoletile sc. spend at

 gae jaanong
 home now
 (Keoletile's wife spends time at home now.)

10.6 Morwadie ga a angwe ke ntsi
 Daughter-her neg. sc. touch (pass.) by fly
 (Her daughter receives the necessary attention.)

10.7 Ina la gagwe le nkgakelang he?
 Name poss. c. her sc. oc.-forget what
 (Her name is what do we call?)

10.8 Ebu ga (pres.) twe Kemoneemang.
 Really be say (pass.)Kemoneemang
 (By the way, it is said . . . to be Kemoneemang.)

10.9 Seagile ga a lape go tlhola a tlile
 Seagile neg. sc. tired to always sc. come

Gauteng.
 Johannesburg
 (Seagile is not reluctant to always come to Johannesburg.)

10.10 E kile ya re a re o leka go tlotla ka
 sc. once sc. say sc. say sc. try to talk by

bosigo bo o neng a raletse ditsuatsue di
 night rel.c. sc. pst. (rel. suf.) sc. stray (perf.) winds sc.

se kana ka sepe a re e tle e nne
 neg. big by nothing sc. say sc. hab sc. stay (perf.)
 ena wa ntlha go bega mafoko kwa kgosing
 he poss.c. one to report words at chief (loc.)

(He once tried to talk about the night he walked through a terribly immense
 wind so that she should be the first to report the incident to the chief.)

10.11 Matlakala a re fa a rata go tlhobogana le
 Matlakala sc. say when sc. like to hate (rec.) and

rraagwe Modisaotsile a bue jalo
 father-he Modisaotsile sc. talk like that

(Matlakala said if he wanted to fight with Modisaotsile's father, he should just
 touch the topic.)

10.12 Monnamogolo o ipheletse
 Man-old sc. finish (refl. perf.)

(The old man is finished.)

10.13 Seome o sa bolawa ke pelo ya
 Seome sc. prog . kill (pass.) by heart poss. c.

ngwana wa mosetsana
 child poss.c. girl

(Seome is still suffering from a heart attack because of his daughter).

10.14 O kile a mo utlwela felo go se fa
 Sc. once (perf.) sc. oc. hear (ben.) place to neg. here
 (He once heard about her whereabouts at a far-away place.)
 Monyaise, 1959, p. 75.

As already stated in the preceding paragraph, in example 10 one encounters a variety of tenses and aspects in the context of the historic present. These tenses and aspect include the past tense, the present perfect aspect, the present habitual aspect and the progressive aspect. The past tense is expressed in sentence 10.10, 10.11 and 10.14, the present perfect in sentence 10.4 and 10.12, the present habitual aspect in sentence 10.3 and 10.9 and the progressive aspect in sentence 10.13. As already stated, the role of the past tense is to develop further the episodic structure of the narrative. That is, it foregrounds the story-telling act. The sentences are in the past tense despite the fact that its tense marker is not indicated. As in many examples preceding it, the tense marker can be recovered from the preceding utterances. It is, however, recoverable from the initial sentence of the paragraph on page 74 which contains the past tense marker.

The historic present tense is realized in sentence 10.1, 10.2, 10.5, 10.6, 10.7 and 10.8. The reason for drawing this conclusion is that the predicates in these sentences are uninflected. It is therefore on the basis of the use of *ke* (be) in utterance 10.1, *o tsweletsa* (he continues) in utterance 10.2, *o tlhola* (she spends) in 10.5, *le nkgakelang* (his name has skipped me) in 10.7, and *ga twe* (it is said) in 10.8. The negative verbs are *ga a angwe* (is not touched) in 10.6 and *ga a lape go tlhola a tlile* (is not tired to come always to) in 10.7. The reason for regarding this part as the conclusion is that it summarizes the narrative events by giving how the families ended or situate the narrate events to the present situation. It therefore provides the background. The role of the historic present is well-established in the literature (Longacre 1976, Wolfson 1982, Brinton 1992, Fleischman 1990, Fludernik 1990). Wolfson (1982) maintains that the historic present tense marks the climax or peak of the narrative.

The present perfect is found in sentence 10.4 and 10.12 and its role is to tie the past situation to the final state of their situations. These sentences describe the state or

condition of Matlakala and Monnamogolo. Matlakala is said to be enjoying her life because she is happily married and the writing is on the wall for Monnamogolo because age has caught up with him. The present habitual aspect is contained in sentence 10.3 and 10.9 and its role is to indicate the repetitiveness of a situation at certain intervals. Finally, the progressive aspect is found in sentence 10.13 and its role is to show a continued heart attack that Seome experiences as a result of the loss of his daughter. That is, the situation or condition started in the past and still continues at the present moment. It therefore situates the event that started in the past to the present situation.

Of all these tenses and aspects contained in the paragraph, the past tense is the only tense that expresses foreground material because it carries forward the plot of the narrative. On the other hand, the present tense, the present perfect aspect, the present habitual aspect and the progressive aspect are manipulated to express background information. The information they express has nothing to do with the plot of the narrative, but somehow explains or says something about the foreground in some way.

Finally, this part of the narrative is referred to as the complication, not for nothing. In this section, the temporal and aspectual resources available in the language are exploited fully to serve various textual and structural functions. These temporal and aspectual resources feature the past tense, the present tense, the historical present tense, the progressive aspect, the habitual and the past perfect aspects. The past tense foregrounds the narrative events, the historical present tenses marks the climax of the narrative, the present tense indicates the foreground and background material, the habitual aspect provides a repetitive dimension to events, the progressive aspect the ongoing situation and the past perfect aspect introduces flashbacks in the narrative.

4.2.3 The end or the coda

This part comes immediately after the evaluation of the story. Its function is to provide the resolution of the complication or high point of a narrative. It could also link the narrated events to the present reality as Labov (1972) notes. In this subsection, we

are going to identify and capture the role of the tenses and aspects used in this part of the narrative.

4.2.3.1 *The use of the present tense*

In the following example, the narrated events are linked to the present reality:

11.1 Modimo o rata dilo tse dintle
 God sc. love things adj. c. beautiful
 (God loves beautiful things.)

11.2 Mme mmaObakeng xxx a bua ka pelo a tsena ka
 Mother mother-Obakeng xxx sc. talk by heart sc. enter by
 motse
 village
 (Obakeng's mother thought about this when she arrived in the village.)

11.3 E bile o tlhomile bogosi kupe mo pelong
 sc once sc. creat (perf.) kingdom sacred on heart (loc.)

ya mosadi le monna go somarelwa
 poss c. woman and man to cherish (pass)

ka tlotlo le masisi.
 by respect and honour

(And He even established the kingdom in the heart of wife and husband to exercise it with care and respect.)

(Monyaise, 1967, p. 96)

The sentences in the above paragraph are both in the past tense, the present tense and present perfect aspect. The past tense is realized in sentence 11.2, the present tense in 11.1 and the present perfect aspect in 11.3. Sentence 11.2 is in the past tense because it deals with episodic narration. The past tense is not indicated by the

past tense marker but it can be recovered from the following sentence on page 94:

12. E ne e le Labotlhano wa tshipi
 sc. pst sc. be Friday poss.c. iron
- ya bofelo mo kgweding ya Lwetse ka
 poss.c. last on month (loc.) poss. c. September at
- ya maneeelo fa ba kgoromeletsa mokoro
 poss. c. give (loc) when sc. push (ben.caus.) boat .
- wa boraro mo metsing
 poss. c. three in water (loc.).

(It was the Friday of the last Sunday of September, at three in the afternoon when they pushed the last boat into the water.)

Monyaise, 1967, p 94)

The role of the present tense is to bridge the gap between the story and the discourse and to give the story a sense of reality. The final sentence (i.e. 11.3) which is the co-ordinate of 11.1, is in the present perfect aspect because the predicate *o tlhomile* (he established) ends with the perfect suffix *-ile*. The role of the present perfect aspect is to give the event a sense of completion or final situation.

In the following example from Monyaise's (1959) *Omphile Umphi Modise*, a variety of the present tense, the present perfect and the present perfect aspect are also encountered:

- 13.1 Kgosi Badirile o itlhobogile
 King Badirile sc. dispair (refl. perf.)
 (Badirile has given up.)
- 13.2 Bana ba ya sekolong monokela.
 Children sc. go school (loc.) gradually
 (Children go to school one by one.)

13.3 Le gale e kete ba mo utlwile.
 And again sc. if sc. oc. hear (perf.)
 (However, it seems as if they have heard him.)

13.4 Basimane ba wela Bopedi ka bontsi
 Boys sc. fall (ben.) Bopedi by many
 (Many boys go to the North.)

13.5 E re ba tswa gone ba bo ba rototse matlho
 sc. say sc. come there sc. can sc. protrude (perf) eyes

a ntse ditoto ba sa batle go bona ngwana a
 sc. still hips sc. neg. want to see child sc.

ntse a kaila mo motseng balekane ba gagwe ba
 still sc. stray on village (loc.) peers sc. his sc.

ile sekolong:
 go (perf.) school (loc.)

(When they returned from there they would open their protruded naked eyes,
 not keen to see a child playing truant while his/her peers have gone to school.)

13.6 Rraagwe a ba a tla ya kgotla a kgweetsa
 Father-he sc. can sc. fut. go meet (loc.) sc. drive

e e dinaka.
 rel. c. sc. horns

(His/her father would be fined a cow at the tribal court.)

13.7 Matsatsi a maloba mosimane a sa
 Days poss. c. day before yester boy sc. still

ntse a tle fapaanele go disa le
 sit sc. hab. chang (ben.) to shepherd and

kgaitsadie a itsiwe ke boteduputswa e
 sister sc. know (pass.) by beard-greys and

bommatediputswa.

mother-beard-greys

(Long ago when boys used to alternatively look after cattle with sisters, is only remembered by the old men and old women.)

- 13.8 Ke utlwile mongwe a ntse a umaka gore go
 Sc. hear (perf.) one sc. still sc. talk that to
 agwa namane e tona ya sekolo kwa Bodibe
 build (pass.) calf adj.c. big poss.c. school at Bodibe
 (I have heard someone saying that a big school is being built at Bodibe.)

- 13.9 Le gale e sale motheo fela
 And still sc. still (perf) foundation alone
 (Nevertheless, it is still a foundation.)

- 13.10 Ga twe motlha se fedileng go tla
 sc say (pass.) period sc finish (perf.) (rel.suff.) to fut.

bo go sa tlhole go iwa Bopedi – le fa
 cond. to neg. spend to go (pass.) bopedi and if

e le Natala
 sc. be Natal

(It is stated that once it is finished, children will neither go to the North nor Natal.)

(Monyaise, 1959, p.75)

The sentences in the paragraph above are expressed in the present tense, present perfect aspect and the present habitual aspect. The present tense is realized in sentence 13.2, 13.3, 13.4, 13.7 and 13.10; the present perfective aspect in 13.1 and 13.8; and the present habitual aspect in 13.5 and 13.6. The role of the present tense

is to situate the situation to the present moment in order to give a sense of reality. The sentences are in the present perfective aspect because they use the perfective verbs such as *o itlhobogile* (he has given up), *ba mo utlwile* (they have listened to him) and *ke utlwile* (I have heard) all suffixed with the perfect marker *-ile*. The present perfect aspect is used to provide the event with a sense of completion. Finally, the present habitual aspect is used to give the situation a repetitive aspect at certain intervals.

4.2.4 Conclusion

The introduction and the end of a narrative are made up by more or less the same type of tenses, namely the present and past tenses. The use of the past tense in the introduction or the ending is to indicate that the narrator is standing outside the story world, thus creating distance between the story and himself. On the other hand, the use of the present tense in the introduction of a narrative text is to give the narrator the leeway of communicating with the reader, thus creating proximity between himself and the story. The use of the present tense in the ending, on the other hand, is to situate the situation to the present moment.

The body or complication of a narrative text teems with a number of different tenses and aspects. These include the present and past tenses, the past habitual, the past perfect and the present progressive aspects. The different uses of the present tense are realized as the historical present tense and the narrator's address of the reader. The use of the historical present tense is to mark the complication of a narrative text and that of the narrator is to address the reader, thus giving it a communicative dimension. The use of the past tense is to create a distance between the narrator and the story world. This means that the events are remembered and related from memory. Keep in mind that the past tense is regarded as the unmarked narrative tense because it is primarily used in the recounting of narrative events. One could therefore conclude that it provides the narrative with the narrative time line. It gives the story the temporal sequence. Finally the use of different types of aspects are various. The past perfect aspect introduces flashback; the past habitual aspect provides a repetitive dimension to events and the progressive aspect the ongoing situation in the narrative. These aspects are concerned with the internal constituency

of a story. That is, the past tense gives the story the linearity or chronological order and aspect places the events in their right order.

The findings in this section tend to support the earlier findings in Stanzel (1964), Thompson and Hopper (1980), Fleischman (1990), Fludernik (1990) and others that the foreground is expressed in the past tense. Fleischman (1990) describes the past tense as the unmarked tense of the narrative. However, a narrative is a complex and complicated text (Virtanen 1992) and therefore contains various text types containing a variety of tenses. A narrative text admits of various tenses with different functions although the narration tense is the past tense.

CHAPTER 5

THE TEXT-STRUCTURING AND INTERPERSONAL FUNCTIONS AS THE DISCOURSE FUNCTIONS OF TENSE AND ASPECT

5.1 INTRODUCTION

As already stated in chapter 1, this chapter constitutes the second part of the main chapter in which I analyse the uses and the significances of tense in the Setswana narrative texts, namely *Ngaka, mosadi mooka* (Doctor, a wife is indispensable), *Omphile Umphi Modise* (Three names of the main character) and *Bogosi Kupe* (The kingdom is sacred) by D.P.S. Monyaise. In essence, this section also provides an empirical study of the semantic principles underlying tense and aspect in the analysis of their discourse functions. In achieving the aim, I divide the chapter into two broad sections. In the first section, I analyse the role of tense and aspect as text-structuring devices. In the second section, I evaluate the use of tense and aspect as a strategy the author uses to achieve a literary effect. Finally I compare the findings in this chapter to the findings recorded earlier in discourse analysis with a view to determine whether these findings support or reject the findings in earlier analyses.

As already stated in chapter 4 in this thesis, I still adopt the macro-structural features of narratives provided in Labov and Waletzky (1967). Furthermore, in the analysis of the narrative texts, we still pay a great deal of attention to the form of tense and aspect in the main clause and not in the subordinate clauses because their use of them is inconsistent. As already stated in the foregoing chapters, xxx indicates the position of the deleted past tense marker.

5.2 TENSE AND ASPECT AS TEXT-STRUCTURING DEVICES

In chapter 1 I posited three research questions about the uses and significances of tense and aspect in Setswana narrative texts. The second research question consists of two parts and is structured as follows:

- (i) What are the uses and significances of the appearance of the past tense

marker *–ne–* in the initial sentence of a paragraph and its omission in the subsequent sentences?

- (ii) What are the uses and significance of the appearance of the past tense marker *–ne–* plus a perfect stem in a given text?
- (iii) What are the uses and significance of other various tenses and aspects that are encountered in a prototypical past tense text?

In this subsection I am comparing the conditions of the research questions given above against the literary data from Monyaise's (1965) *Ngaka, mosadi mooka*.

The question that immediately comes to the fore is: what is the role of this past tense marker in these various contexts?

5.2.1 Tense and aspect as devices of episodic structure

In this section I attempt to explore accurately the text-structuring functions governing the use of the past tense marker in its various distributions.

Let us consider the following example which constitutes the initial paragraph in the text, *Ngaka mosadi mooka*:

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|---------------|-----|------------|----------|----------|----------|---------|
| 1.1 | E | <i>ne</i> | e | le | kgwedi | ya | borataro | Diarona |
| | sc. | pst. | sc. | be | month | poss. c. | six | Diarona |
| | a | robetse | mo | phateng | ya | kokelo | mo | |
| | sc. | sleep (perf.) | on | mat (loc.) | poss. c. | hospital | at | |

Perekwane.

Barawanath

(It was the sixth month that Diarona had been bedridden at the Baragwanath Hospital.)

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|-----|-----|----|---------|-------|----------|------|----|
| 1.2 | Nako | xxx | e | le | ya | mampa | a | podu | ka |
| | Time | xxx | sc. | be | poss.c. | belly | poss. c. | goat | of |

tsatsi la Matlhatso,
 day of washing day
 (The time was four o'clock in the afternoon, on Saturday.)

1.3 Fa a gadima mo letsholeng xxx a bona
 When sc. turn back at window xxx sc. see

Mooki Stella wa Mofolo mosetsana wa thupa tsa maretlwa,
 nurse Stella poss. c. Mofolo girl poss. c. stick of wildberries

motho wa marata- go- lejwa, wa matlho a koma
 person poss. c. love to look (pass.) poss. c. eyes of tin

a tla ntlheng ya kwa phaposeng ya gagwe
 sc. come side poss. c. at room (loc.) poss.c hers

(When she looked back through the window, she saw nurse Stella of Mofolo, a slender and beautiful girl with bright eyes coming in the direction of her ward;)

1.4 mme xxx a lemoga ka motsamao wa gagwe
 but xxx sc. realize by walk poss. c. hers

gore o itumetse.

that sc. happy (perf.)

(But she realised by her movement that she was happy.)

(Monyaise, 1965, p. 1)

In the above paragraph the past tense marker *-ne-* appears in sentence 1.1 and is omitted in sentence 1.2 up to 1.4. In sentence 1.2 the past tense marker would have occurred between *nako* (time) and *e le* (be), in 1.3 between *mo letsholeng* (through the window) and *a bona* (she saw) and in 1.4 between *mme* (but) and *a lemoga* (she realized).

In the same paragraph the author introduces the names of two characters, Diarona

and Stella. He also gives and describes the time of the incidents through the use of the adverbs of time *kgwedi ya borataro* (the sixth month), *mampa a podi* (late in the afternoon) and *letsatsi la matlhatso* (Saturday). Also included are the adverbs of place, namely *mo phateng ya kokelo* (on the hospital bed), *mo Perekwane* (at Barawanath), *mo letsholeng* (through the window) and *kwa phaposeng ya gagwe* (at her ward). These adverbs of place describe the location where the incidents are happening. Finally, the description of the physique of Stella, one of the main characters is given with expressions such as *thupa tsa maretlwa* (sticks of wildberries), *wa marata go lejwa* (beautiful), and *wa matlho a koma* (with bright eyes). Moreover, the author uses a combination of various types of predicates including the stative verbs, e.g. *a robetse* (she slept), *a bona* (she saw) and *a lemoga* (she realized); the action verbs, e.g. *a gadima* (she turned) and *a tla* (she came) and the copulative verb, e.g. *e ne e le* (it was).

The paragraph therefore provides the spatio-temporal setting. That is, the time and location where the events are taking place. The role of the past tense marker is therefore to indicate the spatial and temporal distance in the narrative text. It is the onset, the spatio-temporal setting or the introductory part in a narrative. The second point is that the past tense marker in the first sentence serves as the antecedent and its omission in the subsequent sentences is anaphoric in nature. The omission of the past tense marker binds the sentence in which it appears, i.e. 1.1 with the sentences in which it has been deleted, i.e. sentence 1.2 up to 1.4. As a result, the appearance of the past tense marker serves as a cohesive device that binds all the sentences in the given paragraph. One can therefore draw the conclusion that the paragraph in example 1 contains spatio-temporal information and therefore introduces the setting of a narrative episode.

In the following sentences which make up the second paragraph in the text, the past tense marker has been omitted:

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|------------|----|------------|----------|--------|-----|--------|
| 2.1 | Mo | sejanageng | mo | letsatsing | la | Tshipi | ba | tswa |
| | On | car (loc.) | on | sun (loc.) | poss. c. | bell | sc. | return |

| | | | | | |
|----|------------------|---------|---------|-----|---------|
| go | feleletsa | lenyalo | la | ga | mogoloe |
| to | complete (caus.) | wedding | poss c. | her | brother |

| | | | | | |
|---------|------------|-----|-----|------|--------|
| wa | maitsibola | xxx | a | kgwa | madi. |
| poss.c. | first-born | xxx | sc. | spit | blood. |

(In the car on Sunday, on their way back from the wedding ceremony of her eldest brother, she coughed blood.)

2.2 Mo malatsing a go tsena mo kokelong Pule xxx
 On days (loc.) sc. to enter in hospital Pule xxx

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|---------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----------|
| a | tlhoka | mongwe | yo | o | ka | mo | eletsang |
| sc. | need | someone | who | sc. | can | oc. | advise |

| | | | | | |
|------|--------------|-----|------|------|---------|
| gore | moya-goleele | o | lefa | ka | marapo; |
| that | goer- far | sc. | pay | with | bones. |

(During the days she was admitted into the hospital, Pule could not be advised that the distance between lovers affected love relationships.)

2.3 xxx a itlhoma go iwa fela ka fa.
 xxx sc. think to go (pass.) only in here
 (He considered it a short visit.)

2.4 xxx go sa fete letsatsi mongwe wa baoki a
 xxx to neg. pass day someone poss. c. nurses sc.

| | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|---------|---------|--------|----------|
| sa | leretse | Diarona | lokwalo | kgotsa | phuthela |
| still | bring (perf.) | Diarona | letter | or | parcel |

| | | | | |
|---------|------------|---------|---------|----------|
| ya | dimonamone | ngata | ya | ditšheše |
| poss.c. | candies | bouquet | poss c. | flowers |

| | | | | | |
|--------|-----------|---------|-----|------|-----|
| kgotsa | sengwe | se | o | neng | a |
| or | something | rel. c. | sc. | pst. | sc. |

| | | | | | |
|------|----|-------|--------|---------|-------|
| leka | go | supa | lorato | lwa | gagwe |
| try | to | point | love | poss c. | hers |

| | |
|------|-------|
| ka | sona. |
| with | it. |

(A day could not pass without a delivery of a letter, a parcel of candies, a bouquet of flowers or something with which he could declare his love to her.)

- 2.5 Mme fa nako e ntse e ya magala-masuge
 But as time sc. sit (pass.) sc. poss c. stoke –fast

| | | | | |
|---------|---------|-----|-----|------------------|
| a | bonyana | xxx | a | fokotsega; |
| poss c. | child | xxx | sc. | decrease (neut.) |

(And as time passed, the craziness of youth dissipated ;)

- 2.6 E re a tla xxx a ba a sa tlhole a na
 sc. say sc. come xxx sc. can sc. neg. used sc. has

| | | | | |
|------|------|---------|----|------|
| le | nako | ya | go | nna |
| with | time | poss c. | to | stay |

(Usually on his visit he would spend a few seconds.)

- 2.7 xxx a ema ka leoto le le losi
 xxx sc. stand with foot poss.c. sc. one

(He would stand on his feet.)

- 2.8 Motho wa bofelo go lere lokwalo e ne e
 Person poss c. last to deliver letter sc. pst. sc.

| | |
|----|---------|
| le | Stella; |
| be | Stella. |

(The last person to deliver a letter to her was Stella.)

2.9 Fa Diarona a bona monyenyo wa gagwe xxx
 When Diarona sc. see smile poss c. her xxx

a itse gore Pule o ile
 sc. know that Pule sc. go

(When Diarona saw her smile she could figure out that she had won the heart of Pule.)

2.10 xxx a leka go mo phamola a sa le fa
 xxx sc. try to oc. snatch sc. still be at

losing.

bank

(She attempted to win him back.)

(Monyaise, 1965, p. 1)

In the paragraph in example 2, the past tense marker has been omitted. The past tense marker could have occurred between *maitisiboa* (evening) and *a kgwa* (she coughed) in sentence 2.1, between *Pule* and *a tlhoka* (he needed) in 2.2, before *a itlhoma* (he thought) in 2.3, before *go sa fete letsatsi* (a day never passed) in 2.4, between *bonyana* (youth) and *a fokotsega* (they dissipated) in 2.5; between *a tla* (he came) and *a ba a sa* (he could not) in 2.6; in the initial position in 2.7; between *lokwalo* (letter) and *e le* (was) in 2.8; between *wa gagwe* (hers) and *a itse* (she knew) in 2.9 and as the initial word in 2.10.

As already stated, the past tense marker is omitted in the whole of paragraph 2. This tense marker can, however, be recovered from the initial sentence of the initial paragraph, namely 1.1. The past tense marker *-ne-* is therefore the antecedent and its deletion in the subsequent sentences the anaphor. Its omission therefore binds into a cohesive unit the sentence in which it appears (i.e. sentence 1.1) with the sentences (i.e. 1.2 up to 1.4 and 2.1 up to 2.10) in which it has been omitted. Therefore the omission of the past tense marker in sentence 1.2 to 1.4 in example 1 and the whole of example 2 binds these two paragraphs into one cohesive unit.

The conclusion that can be drawn from these two paragraphs is that paragraph 1 describes the spatio-temporal setting and the one in example 2 forms part of the plot-advancing narration. This therefore implies that paragraph 1 introduces the location where the episode is taking place and paragraph 2 advances the narration in the episode. These paragraphs constitute parts of the same episode dealing with the conflict between Stella and Diarona.

3.1 Letsatsi le *ne* le tsenya nko.
 Sun sc. pst. sc. dip (caus.) nose
 (The sun was about to set.)

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|-----|--------|---------|---------|-------|---------|-----|
| a | ba | a | tshela | tselana | ya | dinao | e | e |
| sc. | then | sc. | cross | path | adj. c. | feet | rel. c. | sc. |

160

3.3 xxx a nna fa fatshe xxx a tswala matlho
 xxx sc. sit on earth xxx sc. close eyes
 (she sat down, closed her eyes.)

3.4 Sehuba sa gagwe xxx se fatoga ka bogare.
 Chest poss c. her xxx sc. open by centre
 (Her chest was aching terribly.)

3.5 Fa a ntse a le fao xxx a gakologelwa gore
 While sc. still sc. be there xxx sc. remember that

gaufi le marakanelo a ditselana tse go khutšana
 near and cross roads poss. c. paths (dim.) dem. there ditch (dim.)

e e atisang go ema metsi.
 which sc. usually (caus) to stand water

(While she was still there, she remembered that there was a ditch not far away from the crossroads which always held some water.)

3.6 xxx a leka go ema mangole a pala.
 xxx sc. try to stand knees sc. hard
 (She tried to stand up, but her knees refused.)

3.7 xxx a leka gape mme jaanong a kgona go
 xxx sc. try again but now sc. manage to

khubama ka mangole.
 kneel with knees

(She tried again, but now she managed to kneel.)

3.8 xxx a bona gore ka dinao o ka se fitlhe.
 xxx sc. see that with feet sc. can neg. reach
 (She realized that on foot she would not make it.)

3.9 xxx a swaila...
 xxx sc. crawl
 (She crawled.)
 (Monyaise, 1965, p. 14)

In paragraph 3 the appearance of the past tense marker *-ne-* is introduced in a similar fashion to that in example 1. That is, it is introduced in sentence 3.1 of the above paragraph and then omitted in sentence 3.2 to 3.9. In sentence 3.2, the past tense marker would have appeared between *bogolo* (big) and *a ikgoga* (she forced herself), in 3.3 between *fatshe* (earth) and *a tswala* (she closed), in 3.4 between *gagwe* (hers) and *se fatoga* (was aching), in 3.5 between *fao* (there) and *a gakologelwa* (she remembered) and in 3.6, 3.7, 3.8 and 3.9 as the initial word. As in example 1, the appearance of the past tense marker serves as an antecedent and its omission as the anaphor. On the basis of this use, its appearance and omission implies that the paragraph is integrated into a cohesive unit.

The use of the action predicates gives the paragraph a new dimension. These action verbs are *le tsenya* (it dipped), *a ikgoga* (she waddled), *a nna* (she sat down), *a tswala* (she closed), *se fatoga* (pulled apart), *a leka go ema* (she tried to stand), *a leka* (she tried), *a kgona* (she managed) and *a swaila* (she crawled). On the other hand, the stative verbs are *a gakologelwa* (she remembered) and *a bona* (she realized). On the basis of the majority of action predicates, one can draw the conclusion that the paragraph advances the narrative events. The role of the past tense marker is therefore to indicate the beginning of a new episode. However, on the basis of the majority of the uses of action verbs, the appearance of the past tense marker does not constitute the spatio-temporal setting. Instead it develops the plot of the story forward. In short, it provides the temporal sequence of the narrative. The appearance of the past tense marker, in this case, introduces a new episode dealing with Diarona's attempt to commit suicide and her rescue by Pule. It therefore sets the time frame for the episode as well as placing the events on the time line.

The following paragraph immediately follows that paragraph in example 3 in the text. In it, the past tense marker has been omitted as exemplified below:

4.1 Pule xxx a tsamaya a tsentse tlhogo e kete
Pule xxx sc. walk sc. dip head as if

mongwe le mongwe yo o kopanang nae o
one and one who sc. meet him sc.

itse ka ga Stella;
know by at Stella

(Pule walked with his face looking down as if everybody he met knew about Stella.)

4.2 xxx a fitlha a tshela molapo gaufi le tamoo
xxx sc. arrive sc. cross fountain near and dam

(He crossed the river near the dam,)

4.3. xxx a tsena mo tselaneng ya dinao.
xxx sc. enter on path (dim.) (loc.) poss. c. feet

(then joined the footpath.)

4.4. Maikaelelo a gagwe xxx e le gore a fitlhe
Aim poss.c. his xxx sc. be that sc arrive

bontsi jwa batho bo setse bo faletse
many poss. c. people sc. already sc. go

gongwe le mmangwanaagwe Stella a setse a
perhaps and aunt-of Stella sc. already sc.

ile gonne o ne a sa itse gore o tla
go (perf.) because sc. pst. sc. neg. know that sc. fut.

mo pota kwa kae.
oc. round at where.

(His aim was to arrive after the majority had left, even Stella's aunt because he could not stand face to face with her.)

4.5 xxx a utlwa lobadi lwa dinala lo tlhotlhona a
xxx sc. feel scar poss.c. nails sc. irritate sc.

ba a gopola mafoko a ga Stella.
then sc. remember words poss.c. Stella

(He felt the scar that was scratched by aching and then he immediately remembered Stella's words.)

4.6. xxx a tiisa dinao
xxx sc. strengthen feet
(He walked briskly.)

4.7 Fa marakanelong a ditselana xxx a sela setlhako
At cross roads (dim.) sc. paths (dim.) xxx sc. pick shoe

sa mosadi se le bothitho e kete ke gona
poss. c. woman sc. be. warm as if be now

mong a se rolang
owner sc. oc. take off

(At the cross roads he picked up a warm shoe of a lady, as if the owner had just taken it off.)

4.8. xxx a tsaya gore se thutafaditswe ke letsatsi.
xxx sc. take that sc. warm (pass.) by sun
(He thought that it had just been warmed by the sun.)

4.9. xxx a se isa kwa nkong.
 xxx sc. oc. take to nose
 (He smelled it.)

4.10 Jaanong xxx a itse gore le fa go twe dilo
 Now xxx sc. know that and when to say things

 ga di itsiwe mong o sa tswa go feta fao.
 neg. sc. know (pass.) owner sc. still just to pass there
 (Now he realized that even if life was mysterious, the owner had just passed there.)

4.11 xxx a leba ntlheng ya sekgwa le ntlheng
 xxx sc. look side poss.c. wood and side

 ya kokelo mme a mo tlhoka.
 poss.c. hospital and sc. oc. miss
 (He looked toward the woods and toward the hospital, and did not see her.)
 (Monyaise, 1965, p. 14 - 15)

As stated above the paragraph in example 4 immediately follows the paragraph in example 3. Furthermore, the past tense marker has been omitted in 4.1 to 4.11. The past tense marker would have occurred in 4.1 between *Pule* and *a tsamaya* (he walked), in 4.2 and 4.3 as the initial word, in 4.4 between *a gagwe* (his) and *e le* (was), in 4.5 and 4.6 as the initial word, in 4.7 between *ditse lana* (path) and *a sela* (he picked up) in 4.8 and 4.9 as the initial word, in 4.10 between *jaanong* (now) and *a itse* (he knew) and in 4.11 as the initial word. Moreover, the predicates comprised the action and stative verbs. The action verbs are *a tsamaya a tsentse* (he walked with his face turned down), *a fitlha a tshela* (he crossed), *a tsena* (he walked into), *a tiisa* (he walked briskly), *a sela* (he picked up), *a se isa* (he took it to) and *a leba* (he looked around). On the other hand, the stative verbs are *a ultwa* (he felt), *a ba a gopola* (he then thought), *a itse* (he knew), *a tsaya* (he thought), and *o sa tswa* (has just passed). On the basis that the action verbs are in the majority, this paragraph develops the narrative events further.

Furthermore, paragraph 4 lacks the past tense marker and its omission is anaphoric in nature. The past tense marker appears in sentence 3.1 and is omitted in 3.2 through 3.9 and from 4.1 through 4.11. This implies that the appearance of the past tense auxiliary verb in example 3 is the antecedent and its deletion is anaphoric in nature. Its appearance and its subsequent deletion bind paragraph 3 and 4 into a cohesive unit. As already stated in the preceding paragraphs, the appearance of the past tense marker introduces the episode and its deletion in the following paragraph signals that paragraph as part of the same episodic structure. Therefore paragraph 3 and 4 are thus part and parcel of the same episode.

In the following paragraph, like in example 4, the spatio-temporal setting is also introduced:

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|----------|-------------|-------|------------------|---------|-------------|----------|
| 5.1 | E | ne | e | le | maitsiboa | a | tsatsi | la |
| | sc. | pst. | sc. | be | evening | poss.c. | sun | poss.c. |
| | modikwadikwane | | | mo | kgokgotshwaneng | ya | kwa | motsheo |
| | dance | | | at | wind-pipe (dim.) | poss.c. | at | far |
| | ntlheng | ya | | borwa | gaufi | le | batho | ba |
| | side | poss. c. | | south | near | and | people | poss. c. |
| | diphala | ba | ba | neng | ba | leletsa | tlase | |
| | trumpets | rel. c | sc. | pst. | sc | blow | down | |
| | go | fitlhela | motshameko | o | simologa, | go | dutse | |
| | to | arrive | competition | sc. | start (neut.) | to | sit (perf.) | |
| | Stella | le | Pule. | | | | | |
| | Stella | and | Pule | | | | | |

(It was the evening of the dance day, in the distant row in the south, near the band that was playing softly until the dance started, that Stella and Pule were seated.)

5.2 Ka fa letsogong la moja xxx go dutse Naomi
 On at hand (loc.) poss.c. right xxx to sit(perf.) Naomi
 (On the right, Naomi was seated.)

5.3 Ka fa botlhabatsatsi jwa bone xxx e le
 On at east poss. c. they xxx. sc. be

setlhopha sa baoki ba ba tlileng
 group poss.c. nurses rel. c. sc. come (perf.)

modikwadikwaneng
 dance (loc.)

(On their eastern side, there were a group of nurses who were attending the competition.)

5.4 bangwe xxx ba apere moaparo o moša o o
 some xxx sc. wear (perf.) attire sc. new which sc.

neng o simolola mo Gauteng;
 pst. sc. start in Johannesburg

(Some had put on attires that had originated in Johannesburg.)

5.5 Mesese nka mpa ka re dipurapura xxx e
 Dresses sc.-can rather can say gowns xxx sc.

phatsima dinaledi gone e a bo e ne
 shine stars because sc. asp. can sc. pst.

e le tsatsi le bomadimanana bo itshupang
 sc. be sun and blood-youths sc. show (refl.) (rel. suff.)

ka botlalo.

in full.

(Dresses, or should I say gowns, glittered like stars because it was the day on which the youths paraded their true nature.)

(Monyaise, 1965, p. 46)

This past tense marker also appears at the beginning of sentence 5.1 and has been omitted in 5.2 up to 5.5. The past tense marker would have appeared in sentence 5.2 between *moja* (right) and *go dutse* (there seated), in 5.3 between *bone* (they) and *e le* (there were), in 5.4 between *bangwe* (some) and *ba apere* (they wore) and in 5.5 *dipurapura* (gowns) and *e phatsima* (they glittered). Furthermore, the past tense marker is combined with the temporal adverbs, *maitsiboa* (in the evening), *a tsatsi la modikwadikwane* (the dance day), *kwa botlhabatsatsi* (in the east). The paragraph also contains the adverbs of place such as *mo kgokgotshwaneng ya kwa motsheo* (in the distant row), *ntlheng ya borwa* (toward the south) *gaufi* (near) and *mo Gauteng* (in Johannesburg).

The main characters, *Stella*, *Pule* and *Naomi* are also introduced. These three characters are the main protagonists because they develop the thematic structure of the narrative. Also included are the various types of predicates. These are in the form of an action predicate *ba apere* (they wore), the stative predicate *go dutse* (were seated), the attributive adjective *e phatsima* (they glittered) as well as the copulatives *e le* (was) used twice and *e a bo e ne e le* (it could have been).

The paragraph in example 5, like that in example 1, provides the spatio-temporal setting. It should be borne in mind that the setting in the paragraph in example 1 and that in example 5 both constitute the part of a broader setting around the Baragwanath Hospital. The setting in example 1 describes the scene within Diarona's ward and that in example 5 the hospital hall. Furthermore, the introductory utterances have the same structural form in that they are descriptive in nature. The appearance of the past tense marker in both examples indicates the beginning of an episode. Its omission in the following sentences ties these sentences and the one in which the past tense marker appears into a cohesive integrated whole. The covert past tense

marker therefore indicates that the paragraph is intra-episodic in nature.

To conclude, one could say the reason for the omission of the past tense marker is to indicate that the sentences in which it has been omitted has the same time-reference as the sentence in which it appears. The appearance of the past tense marker indicates the beginning of an episode and its omission the cohesion of the paragraph.

Given the illustrations of the use of the past tense in the excerpted passages from *Ngaka, mosadi mooka* and our observations of the (appearance) overt and covert (omission) occurrences of the past tense auxiliary verb in the various paragraphs, we can draw the following conclusions:

1. Since this text is about past events, the predicates describing the events are expressed in the past tense form.
2. The initial paragraph locates the setting of the events in time and space and the subsequent paragraphs describe various episodes in the narrative.
3. What is particularly noteworthy is the alternation of overt and covert marking of the past tense form.

(a) In the initial sentence of a paragraph describing an episode, the past tense marker *-ne-* is overtly expressed while omitted in the subsequent sentences. The omission of the past tense marker follows from two related factors, one syntactic and the other discourse-functional. Syntactically, the recurrence of the past tense marker is obviated by virtue of the fact that it is predictable from the first predicate in the paragraph. There is therefore an anaphoric relation between its initial occurrence and subsequent omission contexts. Functionally this anaphoric relation binds the various predicates together in a cohesive use within the episode they describe. The omission of the past tense marker in a sequence of predicates describing the events within an episode is therefore obligatory. The reason is that its omission expresses cohesion between the intra-episodic events. The omission of the past tense marker might even be stretched to encompass immediately adjacent paragraphs on the basis of

temporal anaphoricity.

(b) The re-appearance of the past tense marker in the initial sentence of a paragraph which follows the one in which it has been omitted signals the beginning of a new episode in the narration.

The following table represents the significances of the overt and covert alternations of the past tense marker described above in a narration:

Table 12: The significances of the alternation of the overt and covert past tense marker

| Paragraph 1 | Significance |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Overt past tense marker | The beginning of a new episode |
| Omission of the past tense marker | Sequence of intra-episodic events |
| Paragraph 2 | Significance |
| Omission of the past tense marker | Continuation of a sequence of intra-episodic events |
| Paragraph 3 | Significance |
| Overt past tense marker | The beginning of a new episode |
| Omission of the past tense marker | Sequence of intra-episodic events |
| Paragraph 4 | Significance |
| Omission of the past tense marker | Continuation of a sequence of intra-episodic events |

The past tense marker behaves and functions like pronominalization in Bantu

discourse. In the Bantu languages, the subject marker follows a grammatical subject in a sentence. Once the grammatical subject is been omitted, the subject marker assumes an anaphoric function. In this case, its function is also to create cohesion in a text. This therefore implies that these two grammatical notions are both responsible for creating coherence in a text, however differently. The deletion of an NP creates cohesion within a paragraph whereas the omission of the past tense marker spans over a number of paragraphs constituting an episode. The second observation is that both omissions are conditioned by different contextual factors. The factors governing the omission of one are independent of the factor governing another.

On the basis of the appearance and omission of the past tense marker, the text (i.e. *Ngaka, mosadi mooka*) can be divided into three broad sections, each starting with a spatio-temporal setting. The first section comprises the first spatio-temporal setting which serves as Diarona's ward on page 1 and the second the spatio-temporal setting which serves as the location for the dance competition on page 46. The events of the third and final section returns to the first spatio-temporal setting.

Here follow the episodes constituting the tripartite sections in the text:

6(a) The first part comprises the spatio-temporal setting introducing Baragwanath Hospital as the location of events in the first paragraph in the text. Moreover, in the paragraph Diarona and Stella are also introduced as the two characters fighting for the love of Pule. Within this section, one comes across a number of episodes introduced by the appearance of the past tense marker. This set of episodes is identified by each of the following introductory sentences:

(i) E ne e e kgwedi ya borataro Diarona a robetse mo phateng ya kokelo mo Perekwane.

(It was the sixth month that Diarona had been bedridden at the Baragwanath Hospital.) on page 1

(ii) E ne e le kgwedi Diarona a robetse fa fatshe go tloga motsing go a neng a nelwa ke pula mo tseleng ya Olanti.

(It was a month that Diarona had been bedridden from the day she was

caught by rain on the road to Orlando.) on page 7,

- (iii) Letsatsi le ne le tsenya nko
(The sun was about to set.) on page 14
- (iv) E ne e le maitiso a magolo fa a tsena ka kokelo
(It was late in the evening when he arrived at the hospital.) on page 16,
- (v) E ne e le sebakanyana ba ntse ba nosetsa ditšheše tsa mariga go iphaphatha le tselana e e tswelang kwa diphaposing tsa baoki
(It was for a while since they had been watering the plants along the path leading to the nurses' quarters.) on page 25,

6(b) The second section is introduced by the spatio-temporal setting where the dancing competition is taking place. The characters that are prominent in this setting are Stella, Pule and Naomi. The episodes constituting this section are introduced by the appearance of the past tense marker in each of the following introductory sentences:

- (i) E ne e le maitsiboa a letsatsi la modikwadikwane, mo kgokgotshwaneng ya kwa motsheo ntlheng ya borwa, gaufi le batho ba diphala ba ba neng ba leletsa tlase go fitlhela motshameko o simologa, go dutse Stella le Pule.
(It was in the evening of the dance competition, on the back row towards the south, near the band that was playing softly until the dance started, that Stella and Pule were seated.) on page 46.
- (ii) O ne a le mo tseleng ya go tshameka motshameko wa gagwe wa thobane fa Naomi a mo emisa, a kopa maitshwarelo
(He was on his way to play snooker when Naomi stopped him to ask for forgiveness.) on page 51.
- (iii) Pule le Stella ba ne ba duletse kwa motsheo go lebagana le kgoro ya Mayibuye, gore Reno e bulwe

(Pule and Stella were seated at the far end facing the entrance to Mayibuye waiting for Reno to be opened.)

- (iv) Letsasi le ne le phirima fa a thanya mo phaposeng e dinonyane di opelang gaufi le letshola, mo bolaong bo bo thata
(The sun was about to set when she woke up on a hard bed in a room where the birds sang near the window.) on page 54.

- (v) Ngaka Bodigelo o ne a itshamekela motshameko wa gagwe fa mooki a tla go mmiletsa kwa phaposeng ya dingaka.
(Doctor Bodigelo was playing his game when the nurse called him to the doctor's office.) on page 57.

- (vi) O ne a le mo tseleng fa mongwe a gakologelwa gore sejanaga se thudile setlhare kwa bopherephetšhane, e bile a bo kaya gaufi
(He was on his way when someone remembered that a car smashed into a tree somewhere and described it as nearby.) on page 62

6(c) The third and last part combines the characters of the first and second sections and returns the spatio-temporal setting back to the hospital. This section leads to the resolution of the conflict in the text. Like the two sections, each of its episodes is also introduced by the appearance of the past tense marker in the initial paragraph and comprises the following:

- (i) BoDiarona ba ne ba le mo tshingwaneng fa ngaka e fitlha mo go bona, fa ba bona sefatlhogo sa gagwe ba itse gore go diragetse go feta jaaka mogala o boletse.

(Diarona and company were in the garden when the doctor arrived. When they saw his facial expression, they knew that the situation was worse than what was said on the phone.) on page 68.

- (ii) Diarona o ne a etela Stella maitseboa mangwe le mangwe fa letsatsi le phirima.
(Diarona paid Stella a visit every evening when the sun set.) on page

68.

- (iii) O ne a tlhaba mokgosi fa a utlwa lonko wa yona.
(She screamed when she smelled it.) on page 68.

The role of the past tense marker in Setswana is similar to the one captured by Hoskison (1983: 88), quoted by Levinsohn (1994: 9), with regard to the role of aspect in Gude narrative discourse:

The first sentence in a paragraph (logically coherent sequence of sentences) normally has explicit aspectual marking ... The first sentence has, the effect of establishing the temporal and aspectual setting for the whole paragraph

The above quotation would hold true with regard to temporal markings in Setswana as well. This holds true because in Setswana the past tense marker behaves in similar fashion to the aspectual marker in Gude language.

The findings of this thesis seem to be partly consistent with the research findings in Givon (1990) and Levinsohn (1994). According to Givon's (1990) bidirectional function, the topic serves as a point of departure for what follows in the sense that it provides the temporal basis for the subsequent event. Furthermore, its omission in the subsequent utterances indicates the anaphoric relation between the initial sentence and the following sentences. The past tense marker seems also to serve the bidirectional function, i.e. the point of departure for an episode. Its subsequent omission serves as an anaphoric relation between the initial sentence and the following sentences in an episode, thereby binding the sentences together into a cohesive unit.

These findings seem to contradict that of Levinsohn (1994). According to Levinsohn (1994), the overt past tense marker serves to identify the beginning of a paragraph. What Levinsohn (1994) suggests is that each and every paragraph in his data is introduced by the past tense marker. This finding is contrary to the finding of this thesis. This thesis arrives at the conclusion that the appearance of the past tense

marker identifies the introduction of a narrative episode. It could be that the different findings by Levinson (1994) were prompted by the fact that his research output was based primarily on an expository text, possibly dealing with a single topic. It would be interesting to see what the findings would have been if the research were based on a larger expository text. The findings of this thesis are that the appearance of a past tense marker marks the episodic structure of a narrative and its omission creates the anaphoric relation between the initial sentence and the subsequent sentences.

5.2.2 Tense and aspect as markers of discourse units within discourse units

In this section, it is argued that the appearance of the past tense marker is also responsible for demarcating a paragraph into smaller independent units within it. The reason for demarcating these units is that these units contain unrelated information. The role of the past tense marker in such instances serves to identify the different sub-sections of a paragraph that express unrelated contents.

The following example supports this observation:

7.1 Stella xxx a mo šeba
 Stella xxx sc. oc. look
 (Stella looked at her.)

7.2. Monyenyo wa gagwe o ne o simolola pele
 Smile poss. c. her sc. pst. sc. start first

ka dipounama o tsamaya le marama go
 by lips sc. move and cheeks to

feleletsa ka matlho sefatlhogo se be se sedimoga
 finish (caus) by eyes face sc. then sc. brighten

ka nako e le nngwe.
 by time rel. c. be one

(Her smile started with her lips, moving to her cheeks and ended up with her

eyes, then the face would brighten all at once.)

7.3 Mokgwa o wa go nyenya xxx e le ona
Manner this poss. c. to smile xxx sc. be it

go ka tweng o tsaya mokgele ka
to can (rel. c.) say (pass) sc. take umbrella by

ona mo baoking ba bangwe.
it on nurses (loc.) adj. c. others

(This manner of smiling was the one that could be stated that it put her ahead of the other nurses.)

7.4 Le ena a itse gore Modimo o mo
And she sc. know that God sc. oc.

abetse jalo.
gifted then

(She was also aware that that was her gift from God.)

7.5. “Mareledi a sa le pele nnaka.”

“Slips sc. still. be forward sister.”

(“The problems are still ahead, my sister”.)

(Monyaise, 1965, p. 3)

The paragraph in example 7 illustrates a different use of the past tense marker. Notice that the past tense marker in 7.1 has been omitted. Even though it has been omitted, the past tense is, however, recoverable from the initial sentence of the introductory paragraph. One can therefore draw the conclusion that sentence 7.1 forms part of the episode introduced by the appearance of the past tense marker in the narrative text. However, notice that sentence 7.2 exhibits a different use of the past tense marker. The function of this past tense marker is to indicate that part of the paragraph that deals with unrelated information to the preceding one. In short, the part that contains the past tense marker deals with the description of Stella while

the episode of which sentence 7.1 is part of is concerned with the conflict between Diarona and Stella over Pule. It is therefore correct to state that the reappearance of the past tense marker within the paragraph has nothing to do with the establishment of the temporal setting for the episode. Its reappearance is to indicate the emergence of unrelated information within the paragraph.

The occurrence of the past tense marker *-ne-* plays a similar role in the following paragraph:

8.1 Dan xxx a inama.
 Dan xxx sc. stoop
 (Dan stooped.)

8.2 E ne e le motho yo o ditlhong mo
 sc. pst. sc. be person rel. c. sc. porcupines at

 bathong ba o sa ba tlwaelang mme xxx
 people (loc.) rel. c. sc. neg. sc. use (rel. suff.) but xxx

 a fitlhela a bua le Maria jaaka e kete ke
 sc. find (ben.) sc. talk and Maria like as if sc.

 tsala ya dinyaga.
 friend poss. c. years
 (He was usually shy in the company of strangers; but he conversed with Maria as if they had been friends for ages.)

8.3 Fa ba sena go tlotla lobaka lo loleele, Maria
 When sc. finish to talk time adj. c. long Maria

 xxx a re, "Nkile ka utlwa o tshameka
 xxx sc. say I once sc. hear sc. play

piano ka tshaba go ya kwa go wena gonne
 piano sc. afraid to go at to you because

o lebega o le bosilo.
 sc. look (neut.) sc. be stupid

(After talking about this and that, Maria said, "I once heard you playing piano, and was afraid to join you because you looked like a fool.)

8.4 Tsala ele ya me - Diarona - e *ne* e le
 Friend that poss. c. me - Diarona sc. pst sc. be

mongwe wa basetsana ba ba opelang
 one poss. c. girls rel. c. sc. sing (rel. suff.)

le ditlhopha."
 and group."

(That friend of mine – Diarona – was a member of a music band.)

8.5 xxx a utlwa gore fa a ka didimala Dan o tla
 xxx sc. hear that when ac. can quiten Dan sc. fut.

mo leleka.
 oc. fire

(She felt that if she could keep quiet, he would chase her away.)

8.6 xxx a popotlega e kete o fatwa motlhagare.
 xxx sc. talk as if sc. scratch gum

(She talked ceaselessly as if she was about to undergo a tooth extraction.)

(Monyaise, 1965, p. 24)

On the basis of the use of the past tense marker, the above paragraph comprises three parts. The first part is made up of sentence 8.1, 8.5 and 8.6; the second part by sentence 8.2 and 8.3 and the last part by sentence 8.4 to 8.6. Sentence 8.1, 8.5 and

8.6 form the first part even though its past tense marker has been omitted. This past tense marker could, however, be recovered from the following introductory sentence (numbered 8.7) on page 19:

8.7 Tshingwana e ne e kgalhisa thata gone
Field (dim.) sc. pst. sc. appeal (caus.) much because

se se neng se le motsheo fa ba
rel. c. sc. pst. (rel. suff) sc. be far when they

tsena jaanong se ne se le gautshwane le diphapose
arrive now sc. pst. sc. be near (dim.) and rooms

(The garden was too attractive to Maria because she saw closer to the wards
what was not there when they arrived.)

(Monyaise, 1965, p. 19)

Sentence 8.1, 8.5 and 8.6 constitute their own part because they are concerned with story-telling act. In short, they deal with narration. Sentence 8.2 and 8.3 form the second part because of the unexpected occurrence of the past tense marker *–ne–* in 8.2. The role of this past tense marker is to indicate that part of the paragraph that deals with information unrelated to that of the preceding sentence (i.e. 8.1). This part describes or portrays the character of Dan. Finally, sentence 8.4 constitutes the final part of the paragraph. It is separated from the other part by the appearance of the past tense marker. Its role is to indicate that part of the paragraph that deals with unrelated information, namely the description of Diarona as a band singer.

To conclude, one can say that the role of these past tense markers is to demarcate this paragraph into the parts containing unrelated information. That is, the information in sentence 8.1 is unrelated to the information in sentence 8.2 and 8.3 and unrelated to the information in 8.4 and 8.5. The reason for this division is that sentence 8.1 deals with narration, and therefore it is part of a story-telling act. The second part (namely 8.2 and 8.3) deals with the description of the personality of Dan. Finally, the third part (namely 8.4 and 8.5) provides the information that Diarona was a member of a music band. From the examples given above, one can draw the conclusion that

the introduction of the past tense marker serves to introduce the various parts of the paragraph. The structuring of a paragraph into parts is based on the fact that each of these parts expresses different information, namely that one is a story-telling act, the second describes the character of Dan and the third part outlines the character of Diarona. Therefore, the second and third parts are descriptive in nature.

The following example also illustrates that the sentence containing the past perfect aspect serves as flashback:

- 9.1 Diarona a tswala matlho.
 Diarona sc. close eyes
 (Diarona closed her eyes.)

- 9.2 Lekgwafo la gagwe la molema le ne
 Lung poss.c. hers poss. c. left sc. pst

 le eme mo metsing fa a gotlholo a
 sc. stand in water (loc.) when sc. cough sc

 tlhajwa ke setlhabi sa bogale jwa loma.
 pierced by pain poss.c sharpness poss.c needle
 (Her left lung had been immersed in water and when she coughed she
 felt a piercing pain like that of a needle.)

- 9.3. Gore a lemoge metsi ya re moso mongwe
 That sc. realize water sc. say one day

 a inama a utlwa e kete makgwafo a
 sc. stoop sc. hear as if lungs sc

 a tshologa;
 asp. flow
 (That she should realize that there was water in the lungs, one day
 when she stooped she felt as if her lungs were flowing out.)

9.4. Setlhabi se phunyeletsa mo magopeng.
 Pain sc. piercing at ribs
 (The pain pierced through the ribs.)

9.5. A swa senku jaaka ngwana wa mosadi
 Sc. die sheepishly like child poss. c. woman
 (She suffered silently like a woman)

9.6. mme mongwe a mo raya a re batho botlhe
 but one sc. oc. say sc. say people all

ba na le metsi mme a utlwiwa ke ba
 sc. has and water but sc. hear (pass.) by sc.

lohuba fela.

T.B. only

(Someone told her that everybody has water in the body but are only experienced by the TB patients.)

(Monyaise, 1965, pp. 11 -12)

The paragraph in example 9 also consists of two parts, the first part comprising sentence 9.1 and the second part sentence 9.2 to 9.6. The sentence making up the first part is in the past tense although its past tense marker has been omitted. The past tense marker can, however, be recovered from the introductory sentence containing the past tense marker of the paragraph on page 7. The second part of the paragraph is introduced by the appearance of the past tense marker with the perfective verb, namely *le ne le eme* (it had stood) and its role is to indicate flashback. The division of the paragraph into two parts receives support even from the contents of each part. The first part deals with the coughing by Diarona and the second relates the perception that everybody had a lung submerged in water. As already stated, the role of the appearance of the past tense plus the perfect verb is to indicate that the sentence within which it is embedded contains information that precedes the information contained in the earlier part of the paragraph. It therefore places that information in its chronological order.

The following example illustrates the use of the past tense marker for two different purposes:

10.1 Phaposana ya ngaka e ne e le gaufi le kokelo
Room(dim.) poss. c. doctor sc. pst. sc. be near and hospital

gore a bitsege ka bonako fa a batlega
that sc. call (neut.) by quick when sc. want (neut.)

gonne o ne a emela dingaka tse di mo
because sc. pst. sc. stand doctors rel. c. sc. at

itapolosong

off duty (loc.)

(The doctor's office was near the hospital so that he should be called in when urgently needed because he was on stand by for off duty doctors.)

10.2 Ka fa morago xxx e le ditšheše tsa ditsebe
By at behind xxx sc. be flowers poss. c. ears

tse ditona di goletse kwa godimo
adj. c. big sc. grow (perf.) at high

(In the back row, there were long flowers with large ears.)

10.3 xxx e le sebaka go tse di a tloshiwa
xxx sc. be time to say (pass.) sc. as remove

tloshiwa mme nako le nako fa di tshwanetse go
remove (pass.) but time and time when sc. must to

tloga go nna le seipato.
move to have and hide.

(It was a long time ago that they were said to be removed, and each time when they must go there was a pretext not to move them.)

10.4 Go tsewe go twe di kgabisitse di
 To take (pass.) to say (pass.) sc. decorate (perf.) sc.
 thiba phefo ya mariga di dira moriti
 block wind poss. c. winter sc. create shade
 (It was said that they were decorative, blocking the wind in winter and they create a shade.)

10.5 Morago xxx ga tlogelwa fela
 Last xxx to leave (pass.) only
 (Finally they were left alone.)

10.6 O ne a eme a lebile ditšheše tse
 sc. pst. sc. stand (perf.) sc. look (perf.) flowers rel. c.

 fa a itlhome a bona sengwe se o sa
 when sc. thought sc. see something rel c. sc. neg.

 se tlwaelang ka fa tlase ga tsona.
 sc. use (rel. suff.) by at under poss. c. them
 (He had just stood there looking at these flowers when he thought that he was seeing something that he was not used to under them.)

10.7 xxx a tshega
 xxx sc laugh.
 (He laughed.)
 (Monyaise, 1965, p. 58)

The past tense marker *-ne-* appears twice in the above paragraph. The first past tense marker appears in sentence 10.1 and the second one in sentence 10.6, each occurring for a particular reason. The first past tense marker is used to indicate the beginning of an episode. On the other hand, the second one divides the paragraph into two structural parts, the first consisting of sentence 10.1 to 10.5 and 10.7. The second structural part is made up of sentence 10.6. Furthermore, sentence 10.6 contains the past tense marker plus the perfective verb *a eme*. Its role is therefore to

indicate flashback. That is, it indicates that the sentence within which the past perfect aspect appears contains information that precedes the information contained in the earlier part of the paragraph.

The past perfect aspect behaves similarly to its counterpart in English (McCoard 1978, Caenepeel 1995). In examining its role, Caenepeel (1995) concludes that the past perfect aspect can both refer back within or outside the current episodic structure.

The statement on this function is not new in the literature. According to Levinsohn (1994), this function is first expressed in Perrin (1983) and Hoskison (1983) as exemplified in the following:

The tense-aspect marker *kə* (labelled T/A) occurs ... in the main clause of (7h), which is a flashback, occurring prior to the event described in the topicalised clause of that sentence.
(Levinsohn 1994: 9).

The problem is that the condition stated above does not state whether *kə* is a tense marker, aspect marker or both. It is therefore not stated whether flashback is expressed through a selection of tense and aspect markers, as in Setswana, or not. It is my opinion that some more data should be provided if the role of this tense-aspect marker *kə* could be fully captured.

5.2.3 Conclusion

The research findings of this thesis provides empirical evidence for Waugh (1990) and Hasan (1978) that tense serves as a text-structuring device. According to Waugh (1990: 246), tense “helps to bring out the configuration (or construction) of the text by marking its internal subdivisions”. In introducing the episodes and dividing paragraphs in terms of its structural parts, the past tense performs the demarcative functions proposed in Hasan (1978) and Waugh (1990).

This role of tense as a text-structuring device is realized in three different ways.

These functions are interpreted in terms of the appearance and omission of the past tense marker. Firstly, the appearance of the past tense provides the introduction of a narrative episode. This could be in the form of the spatio-temporal setting or the temporal division of narrative in terms of the succeeding temporal structures. The second function involves the appearance of the past tense marker in structuring the paragraph in terms of units containing unrelated information. In this case, the unit containing unrelated information is embedded within the story-telling paragraph. This role is referred to as the demarcation of a text as a result of discontinuous action (Wilkendorf 1994, Levinsohn 1994)

Thirdly, the past tense marker appears with the perfect verb stem to indicate flashback in narrative texts as indicated in example 9 and 10. Remember that the appearance of this past tense marker still divides the paragraph in terms of its structural parts. The role of the past perfect aspect is to fit the utterance within which it appears within its suitable chronological order. Its function is therefore to indicate flashback in narrative texts. On the other hand, the omission of the past tense marker functions to indicate an anaphoric relationship between the utterance containing the past tense marker and the one in which the past tense marker has been omitted. This therefore implies that omission of the past tense marker creates cohesion within the episode. As a result, it coheres the events into an integrated episode.

5.3 TENSE AS THE INDICATOR OF THE INTERPERSONAL FUNCTION

In chapter 1, the following research question was presented:

Research question 3

- (i) Which tense(s) does the author use to provide a text with a communicative dimension?
- (ii) Which tense(s) does the author use to manipulate the empathy or to convince or inform and instruct the reader to accept the author's point of view?

In this section, we shall attempt to answer this research question with reference to Setswana narrative texts, particularly *Omphile Umphi Modise*, *Ngaka, mosadi mooka*

and *Bogosi kupe* by D. P. S. Monyaise.

In addressing this research question, we shall divide this sub-section into the following parts:

- (i) The narrator addressing the reader, and
- (ii) The narrator imparting cultural information to the reader.
- (iii) The narrator and the perspective of the character.

5.3.1 The narrator addresses the reader

In this section, I analyse the relationship between the narrator and the reader. The author or narrator writes a text with the intention of communicating with the reader. In terms of Halliday (1970), the narrator-reader relationship examines the conative function of the interpersonal meaning of language. The narrator-reader relationship is evoked in the text to serve different artistic purposes. My aim therefore is to determine the role of tense and aspect in serving these different artistic purposes in Setswana literary narratives, particularly by Monyaise.

In the following paragraph, the narrator occasionally communicates directly with the reader:

11.1 Ke lotlatlana.
Be dawn
(It is dawn.)

11.2 xxx ba tsamaya ba raletse thota go ya
xxx sc. walk sc. across hill to go

ntlheng ya Borwa.
side (loc.) poss. c. south
(They ascended a hill toward the south.)

- 11.3 Mosadimogolo a ikgoga fela motho wa
 Old woman sc. pull (refl.) only person poss. c.

batho.

people..

(The old woman was just forcing herself, the poor lady.)

- 11.4 Mmadi ntsamaisa tsela ntsala e tle e re
 Reader (oc.) walk (caus.) road friend sc. used sc. say

ka moso o mpakele

by tomorrow sc (oc) support (ben.)

(Reader, accompany me on my journey, so that tomorrow you should be my witness.)

- 11.5 Matlho diala ga a je sa motho.
 Eyes marbles neg. sc. eat poss.c. person.
 (Eyes are the marbles, they consume nobody's food.)

- 11.6 Ba tlhatloga mokong ba fitlha ba ema fa pele ga
 Sc. ascend hill sc. arrive sc. stop at front poss. c.

ntlo e bonisitswe ke dipone-talana
 house poss. c. light (caus.) (perf.) by light-green

ka fa ntle

by this out

(They ascended a hill and finally arrived at the house with a green light outside.)

- 11.7 Fa ba sena go nna ba kabakanya ka sebaka se
 When sc. finish to sit sc. think by time poss. c.

| | | | | | |
|----------|-----|----------|-----------|----------|------------|
| setelele | ga | tswa | mosetsana | wa | mooki mo |
| long | sc. | come-out | girl | poss. c. | nurse from |

| | | | |
|-----------|--------|-------|------|
| segotlong | sa | ntlo | e |
| yard | poss.c | house | this |

(After waiting outside for a while, a nurse came out from the house.)

11.8 Ya re a ba bona a nyenya
sc. say sc. oc. see sc. smile

(When she saw them, she smiled.)

(Monyaise, 1959, p. 5)

In the paragraph given in example 11, the act of narration or story-telling shifts from the past tense to the present tense. The past tense is realized in sentence 11.2 and 11.3. Even though it does not appear in these sentences, the past tense marker can be inferred from the sentence in the paragraph which contains the past tense marker on page 3. The main function of the past tense marker is to develop or advance the plot in the narrative. It is therefore concerned with the story-telling act of the narrative because it reports actual incidents.

On the other hand, sentence 11.1, 11.4 and 11.5 involve the writer–reader relationship and are narrated in the present tense. These sentences reflect the writer–reader relationship because in them the narrator addresses the reader directly. The reason for this conclusion is supported by the use of the words *mmadi* (reader) and *ntsala* (friend). The address to the reader is also reflected in the subject marker of the second person singular *o-* in the hortative *o mpakele* (be my witness). As an indication that there is communication between the author and the reader, the author is represented by the use of the object marker of the first person singular *n-* in the commands *ntsamaise* (accompany me) and *m-* in *o mpakele* (be my witness). The use of these subject and object concords and words indicates that the author talks directly to the reader.

As we have noted above, these sentences are also in the present tense. The function of the present tense is to give an immediate communicative dimension to the

sentences. The narrator therefore invites the reader to accompany him in an imaginary temporal displacement into the time of the event-line of the story. The narrated time and the time of narration are therefore collapsed into one.

In the following paragraph, the direct communication between the author and the reader is introduced with a view to providing the reason for the movements of Modise:

12.1 Motho yo Modise, mmadi o tsamaya
 person this Modise reader sc. walk

ka tsela ya mošate go ya go
by path poss.c. palace to go to

ipolaisa selo kwa bodibeng jaana, a
kill(refl.caus) thing at dam (loc.) like that sc.

sa itire.
neg. force (refl.)

(This person Modise, reader, takes the road to the king's palace to be attacked by a monster at the dam, not just for nothing.)

12.2 Ka tsatsi la nyalo ya kwa mošate xxx a
By sun poss. c wedding poss.c at palace xxx sc.

tsamaya le tshimane e nngwe ya
walk and boy (pl.) poss. c. one poss. c.

sekolo go ya letsholo.
school to go hunt

(On the wedding day at the palace, he went out with certain school boys on a hunting expedition.)

12.3 Fa ba ntse ba le kwa letsholong leo xxx a
 When sc. sit (perf.) sc. Be at hunting (loc.) that xxx sc.

a bona phuduhudu e e marama mahunwana
 sc. see red-buck rel. c. sc. cheeks- light-brown

e mamaretswe ke letlalo mangena a
 sc. glue (pass.) by skin earrings sc.

bakasela e gaola fa pele ga gagwe
 shine sc. bellow in front at him

(While they were still hunting, he saw a light girl with shining earrings passing in front of him.)

12.4 xxx a se ka a nna molema a se ka a
 xxx sc. neg. can sc. come left sc. neg. can sc.

nna Mafosi
 come misses

(He did not go left, he did not miss the target.)

12.5 Mosimane xxx a ipala mabala a kgaka a
 Boy xxx sc. count colours poss.c. guineafowl sc.

ba a nna mosetlha mo ganong
 then sc. become fawn on mouth (loc.)

(The boy proposed love seriously.)

12.6 A bo a emetse kwa godimo magodimo a
 sc. cond. sc. stand (loc.) at high skies poss. c

mmotoile ka botswerere jwa ona
 succeed (perf.) by brilliance poss.c. it

(She was tall and proportionally build as if she was created brilliantly.)

12.7 xxx a ipala mabala a kgaka gabedi
 xxx sc. count clolours poss.c. guinea-fowl twice

fela tsotlhe tsa apara tshiamo
 only everything sc. wear safety

(He proposed love to her twice and was accepted.)

(Monyaise, 1959, p. 35)

In the above paragraph in example 12, the story-telling shifts from the past tense to the present tense. The past tense occurs in sentence 12.2, 12.3, 12.4, 12.5 12.6 and 12.7 and the present tense in 12.1. The past tense marker has, however, been omitted in these sentences but can be inferred from the initial sentence in the paragraph which contains the past tense marker on page 26. The main function of the past tense marker is to tell a narrative. It is therefore concerned with the story-telling act of the narrative by reporting the actual events of the narrative.

On the other hand, sentence 12.1 is in the present tense and reflects the writer–reader relationship because in it the author addresses the reader directly. The reason for drawing this conclusion is based on the fact that the narrator uses the word *mmadi* (reader) used to address the reader. The role of the address is necessary to provide extra information about the reason that compelled Modise to follow the route that led to his nightmares. Furthermore, sentence 12.1 is narrated in the present tense. The reason for the use of the present tense is to give a communicative dimension to the sentences. Like the sentences in example 11, this sentence bridges the gap between the narrated time and the time of narration. As a result, it collapses the two times into one. One could therefore conclude that sentence 12.1 deals with the discourse and 12.2 to 12.7 are concerned with the story.

In the following example the direct narrator-reader relationship is provided with the aim of thwarting the misrepresentation of facts by the reader:

13.1 Keoletile o ne a ise a nyale mmadi,
 Keoletile sc. pst. sc. never sc. marry reader

e bo e tla re ka moso lo bo lo
 sc. would sc fut. say by tomorrow sc. would sc.

pateletsa batho mafoko ba sa itse.
 force people words sc. neg. know

(Keoletile was not yet married ...reader, you would in future force words
 down the throat of other people, not knowing them.)

13.2 ka re Keoletile o ne a ise a
 sc. say Keoletile sc pst. sc. Never sc.

nyale.

marry

(I say Keoletile was not yet married.)

13.3 se nkutlwe ka tsa ga Morakile .
 neg. (oc) hear by poss. c. at Morakile

(Do not listen to me inattentively.)

(Monyaise, 1965, p. 66)

The paragraph in example 13 reflects the communicative between the narrator and the reader because in it the narrator talks directly to the reader. The linguistic evidence for the presence of the narrator lies in the use of *ka re* (I say) in 13.2 and the object marker of the first person singular *n-* in *se nkutlwe* (do not hear me) in 13.3. Moreover, the linguistic evidence for the presence of the reader lies in the use of the word *mmadi* (reader) in sentence 13.1 as well as the subject marker of the second person in the plural *lo-* (you) all referring to the readers. Furthermore, these sentences are expressed in the present tense. The role of the present tense is to indicate that there is communication between the author and the reader. The role of the address to the reader is to stress the fact that *Keoletile o ne a ise a nyale* (Keoletile was not yet married). The statement could be based on the reason that the narrator wants to make sure that the relevant facts are not being misrepresented. This conclusion is drawn on the basis of sentence 13.1 which states “*e bo e tla re ka moso lo bo lo pateletsa batho mafoko ba sa itse*” (you would in future put words into

other people's mouths).

From these few examples, one can come to the conclusion that the past tense is used for narration or the story-telling act and the present tense for the discourse. Therefore the role of the present tense is mainly for providing an immediate communicative dimension between the narrator and the reader and the past tense for recounting the past events in the story. The function of the intrusion of the author is to address the reader, thus providing the narrative text with communication between the narrator and the reader. This dimension is necessary because the author is empowered with the wealth of experience and authority over the reader. It is a wealth of experience because the author has superior knowledge about the events in the narrative. This is displayed in the use of directives he gives to the readers in the text (Hyland 2002). As a result, the author is able to construct dialogism (Nysstrand 1989) or interaction (Edley and Wetherell 1999) between himself and the reader. A narrative is therefore considered a shared journey of exploration for the writer and reader, with the writer always leading the expedition (Hyland 2002). The author may also exploit this dialogic relationship in order to draw the attention of the reader to important information. The author has to guard against some misconstruals of events by the reader by a deliberate guidance to the correct interpretation (Hyland 2002, Harwood 2005).

5.3.2 The narrator and the imparting of cultural knowledge

A narrator plays various roles in a narrative (Booth 1961, Sickles 1990). That is, on top of his narrative role, the narrator can perform an ideological role, moralistic or didactic role and even function as a critic of human behaviour. In assuming these roles, the narrator suspends or interrupts his/her story-telling act (Booth 1961, Sickles 1990).

5.3.2.1 *Imparting of cultural knowledge*

The following example illustrates the imparting of cultural knowledge by the narrator:

14.1 Seagile a se ka a mo tsaya tsia
 Seagile sc. neg. can sc. oc. take locust
 (Seagile did not pay attention to her.)

14.2 a nnela go tseela mogatse kgang
 sc. continue (ben.) to tell wife story

ka ga monna mongwe wa kwa moseja
 by at man one poss. c. at over-river

(leina le senya motse) yo o neng
 (name sc. destroy village) rel. c. sc. pst. (rel suf.)

14.3 xxx a tlhotse a sekisiwa.
 xxx sc. spent sc. prosecuted
 (He continued to relate to her the incident of a certain man across the
 river (his name is costly) who had been prosecuted that day.)
 (Monyaise, 1959, p. 52)

The paragraph given above is expressed in both the past and present tenses. The past tenses are expressed in 14.1, 14.2 and 14.3 and the present tense is embedded in a phrase within sentence 14.2. These sentences are expressed in the past tense because they carry the plot forward. In sentence 14.2 the narrator interrupts his narration by intruding. The interruption or intrusion is easily identifiable because it interrupts the flow of the story. Secondly, it is also stated in the present tense. The narrator interrupts the flow of the narrative in order to address the reader directly with a view to impart a cultural taboo of not naming the man under discussion on the basis that the consequence could be too costly to contemplate. The present tense is therefore an overt designation of the digression from the story line, i.e. an author intrusion.

5.3.2.2 *Lessons about life*

In the following example, the author talks directly to the reader with the aim of

instilling in him the complex nature of life:

- 15.1 Tsa lefatshe re di tsaletswe re a di
poss c. earth sc. oc. born (ben.) sc. asp oc.

golela.

grow (ben.)

(The problems in life, we are created for, we grow up for.)

- 15.2 Mme e se ka ya re o bona e kete
But sc. neg. pot. sc. say sc. see as if.

tsela ya gago e tsena mo sekgweng wa
road poss. c. your sc. enter on wood (loc.) sc.

tlhobogela rure.

lose-hope (ben.) ever.

(And when your path leads into the woods, do not despair.)

- 15.3 Se se sa feleng se (pres.) a tlhola.
rel.c. sc. neg. finish(rel. suff.) sc.(pres.) asp. omen

(That which does not end is a bad omen.)

(Monyaise, 1959, p. 5)

The sentences in the above paragraph also illustrate the intrusion of the narrator during the story-telling act. The intrusion of the narrator is indicated by the use of the subject marker in the plural *re-* (we) used twice in 15.1 and once in 15.2. The use of the plural *re-* (we) seems to suggest that the author includes himself as part of a particular speech community. On the other hand, the reader is identifiable by the use of the subject marker in the singular *o-* (you) and its alternative form in the singular *wa-* (you) and the possessive pronoun of the second person *ya gago* (your) all in 15.2. The use of the present tense together with other relevant morphological elements indicates that the narrator talks directly to the reader in order to teach him/her about the ups and downs of life.

In the following example, Monyaise seemingly illustrates that people experience life differently. If your phase is a bad patch, chin up because it would later become part of history as exemplified in the following:

- 16.1 Bangwe ba rona ba sego ka go lemoga
 Some poss. c. our sc. lucky by to aware
- se ba tshwanetseng go se dira ba
 poss. c. sc. must (rel. suf.) to sc. do sc.
- itekanetse mme ba se dire ka tlhaloganyo e e
 healthy (perf.) but sc. oc. do cond. mind rel. c. sc.

itshekileng.

proper (rel. suff.)

(Some are blessed because they know what they have to do while they are healthy, and they do it to the best of their ability.)

- 16.2 Bangwe ba lemoga se ba tshwanetseng
 Some sc. aware rel. c. sc. must (rel. suff.)
- go se dira morago ga tiragalo nngwe
 to oc do after poss. c. event one
- e e ba tlhagiseditseng diphoso tsa
 rel. c. sc. oc. expose (perf)(rel. suff) mistake poss. c.

bona; jaaka Jona, ba e dirisiwe ka kgang.
 they like Jona sc. oc. do (caus.) (pass.) by force

(Some become aware of what they have to do after a particular nasty experience has pointed out their mistakes, like Jonah, then they are forced to do it.)

16.3 Diarona o ne a simolotse a itlhoma a
 Diarona sc. pst. sc. start (perf.) sc. think sc.

bona tsela e o tshwanetseng go e tsamaya
 see road sc. oc. must (rel. suff.) to sc. walk

go ruta sefotshwana se se mo etseng ka
 to teach blind (dim.) rel. c. sc. oc. go (perf.) by

mokgele maitseo,
 umbrella manner (pl.)

(Diarona had thought to have realized the path she was supposed to take, to teach that culprit that usurped her boyfriend's manners,)

16.4 fa a utlwa mmaagwe Dan a bua a wetse
 When sc hear mother of Dan sc. talk sc. fall (perf.)

makgwafo a lemoga gore mongwe mo go
 lung (pl.) sc. aware that someone on to

bone o tthatlhathela mo tlhageng.
 go sc. stray on grass (loc.)

(When she heard Dan's mother talking in a quiet mood, she realized that one of them was going astray.)

(Monyaise, 1965, 45)

In sentence 16.1 and 16.2 in paragraph 16 the author once again interrupts the flow of the narrative by expressing his own thoughts about the value systems to the reader. At this juncture, the author assumes a different role to that of narrator namely that of advising the reader about the complex nature of life. In the given paragraph, the narrator classifies the community in terms of two categories. The first group, in which the narrator is included, does something at the first go and the second one learns from experience. The narrator considers himself as a member of the first group and Diarona, one of the main characters in the novel, belongs to the second

group. This conclusion is based on the use of the possessive pronoun *ya rona* (of us) in which he is accommodated. The author's advice is presented in the present tense since he is appealing to forget and forgive.

In the following paragraph, the narrator also employs the present tense to illustrate the fact that in life some people are lucky, others unlucky:

17.1 Batho ba ba tshwanang nae ba a tlhokwa
 People rel. c. sc. like (rel. suff.) he sc. asp. need (pass.)

batho ba ba bonang dipono ba lora ditoro
 people rel. c. sc. see (rel. suff.) vision sc. dream dreams

mme e re ba lemoga gore tsela e ba e
 but sc. say sc. aware that road rel. c. sc. oc.

tsamayang e tla ba digela mo morageng ba
 walk like (rel. suff.) sc. fut. oc. lead in mud sc.

bue ka lentswe le le utlwalang gore a
 talk by voice rel. c. sc. hear (rel. suff.) that sc.

di eme di botse
 oc. stop sc. ask.

(People like her are too scarce: people who have vision, who have dreams, and then when they realize that the road they are on leads them into a ditch, they speak in a loud voice that they should stop and ask.)

17.2 Gonne go a tlhokega mo botshelong jwa
 Because to asp. need (neut.) on life (loc.) poss. c.

batho gore gangwe le gape mo lobakeng lwa
 people that one and again on time (loc.) poss. c.

dinyaga go tlhage mongwe yo o itlhomang a
 years to come one rel. c. sc. think (refl.) (rel suf.)

tlhophilwe go supa tsela e ntšhwa
 choose (pass.) to point road adj. c. new.

(Because it happens that now and then someone, who has been ordained to give direction in life, arrives.)

- 17.3 xxx ga go thona
 xxx neg. to unbecoming
 (It is not unbecoming.)
 (Monyaise, 1965, p. 45)

The whole paragraph in example 17 is made up of sentences coming directly from the mouth of the narrator and these sentences are narrated in the present tense. What this implies is that these sentences embody the address the narrator directs to the reader. The narrator talks to the reader about the constitution of people in the community. What Monyaise is saying is that whenever a person is in difficulties, (s)he should seek help and he uses the context of the story to make his point. As already stated these sentences are expressed in the present tense. The function of the interruption is to advise people to seek help when they are in difficulties and to provide a communicative dimension to the text. One could therefore conclude that the narrator teaches us about life in general.

5.3.2.3 *The knowledge of children*

The narrator advises parents not to take children for granted and warns them to mend their ways in the presence of their children. The reason for this is that children like parents have human characteristics and can distinguish right and wrong as the following excerpt illustrates:

- 18.1 Mmê mmaMolamu a dira motlholo a kgalema mogatse:
 Mother, mrs Molamu sc. do miracle sc. reprimand husband

“Rra!”

“Hubby!”

(Mrs Molamu behaved unbecomingly, she scolded her husband: “Darling!”)

18.2 xxx a mo dilola.

xxx sc. oc. look

(He looked sharply at her.)

18.3 xxx a retologa go se kae a mo naya

xxx sc. turn to neg. where sc. oc. give

motlhana.

back

(He turned a little, showing her his back.)

18.4 Dan xxx a hupelwa ke ditshego

Dan xxx sc. contain (pass.) by laughter

(Dan suppressed his laughter.)

18.5 xxx A leka go rakanya matlho le Maria go

xxx sc. try to meet (caus.) eyes and Maria to

mo raya a re le wena o gaufi.

oc. say sc. say and you sc. near

(He tried to meet Maria's eyes to inform her that she was next.)

18.6 Maria o ne a lekile go tlhalosetsa Dan

Maria sc. pst. sc. try (perf.) to explain Dan

gore rraagwe ke motho yo o

that father (her) be person rel. c sc.

| | |
|--------------------------|-------|
| ntseng | jang. |
| stay (perf.) (rel.suff.) | how |

(Maria had attempted to explain to Dan the nature of her father.)

18.7 Batsadi ba (pres.) tsaya gore bana ba bona
 Parent (pl.) sc. (pres.) take that child (pl.) sc. they

ga ba a tshwanela go ba tshwaya diposo;
neg. sc. asp must (ben.) to sc. mark mistakes
(Parents think that their children are not supposed to point out their mistakes;)

18.8 mme fa ba ka bo ba itse gore ba ba
but when sc. can cond. sc. know that rel. c. sc.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------|--------|-----|------|--------|-----|-----|-------|-----|
| itse | jaaka | motho | a | itse | tsela, | ba | ka | bo | ba |
| know | like | person | sc. | know | road | sc. | can | cond. | sc. |

| | | | | | |
|---------|----------|---------|-----|----|-------|
| iphutha | metlhala | gonne | e | le | ruri |
| gather | tracks | because | sc. | be | truth |

leletse e ruta e e mo maleng.
cry (perf.) sc. teach rel. c sc. oc, stomach (loc.)
(but if they knew that they know them like a person knowing a path,
they would take care; because really a calf that weans from a pregnant
cow, teaches the young one within the uterus.)
(Monyaise, 1965, p. 29)

In sentence 18.7 and 18.8 the narrator interrupts the flow of the narrative. His intrusions are presented in the present tense. Here the narrator advises the parents to mend their ways in the presence of their children. Failing to do so, their children will either copy or blame them.

5.3.2.4 *The complex nature of women*

Monyaise seemingly considers women to be complex and their personality hard to understand. As a result, men or husbands are always unsure of how to approach or relate to them. The following example bears testimony to this view:

- 19.1 “Ngwanaka, ngwanaka ngwanaka!” xxx a bua a mo
Child my child my child my xxx sc. talk sc. oc.

atla gantsintsi

kiss many many

(“My daughter, my daughter, my daughter!” she screamed kissing her several times.)

- 19.2 Dikeledi xxx di keleketla mo go mosadimogolo
Tear(pl.) xxx sc. flow on to old-woman
(Tears rolled down the cheeks of the old lady.)

- 19.3 Maria le ena xxx a nyerologa.
Maria and she xxx asp. open (neut.)
(Maria felt mentally at ease.)

- 19.4 Ke mang yo o ka reng ena o
Be who rel. c. sc. can say (rel. suf.) he sc.

tthaloganya pelo ya mosadi?

understand heart poss. c. woman?

(Who would claim that he understands the personality of a woman?)

(Monyaise, 1965, pp.28 - 29)

Sentence 19.4 reflects the intrusion of the narrator and the use of the present tense. The narrator intrudes into the narrative by asking a rhetorical question in the present tense. The reason for using the present tense is that the narrator talks directly to the reader, advising him/her about the complex nature of the personality of a woman.

Monyaise maintains that criminals are full of tricks and people will not always realize these tricks until they are conned. In the following example, the author talks directly to the reader to warn him/her about these tricks:

20.1 xxx a latlha setlhako;
 xxx sc. throw shoe (sing.)
 (He threw the shoe away.)

20.2 Ya re se ama lefatshe xxx a itlhoma a
 sc. say sc. touch earth xxx sc. think sc.

 utlwa modumo gaufi le ena, a ba a batla
 hear sound near and he sc. then sc. want

 gore ke wa lefatshe.
 that be poss. c. earth
 (When it landed on the ground, it seemed as if he heard some noise nearby, sounding lilke that of the earth.)

20.3 xxx A gakologelwa khuti gaufi le fa o
 xxx Sc. remember hole near and near sc.

 emeng teng, mme a tshaba go atamela
 stand(rel.suff) there but sc. afraid to go near

 a le esi gonne maano a magwaragwara
 sc. be alone because tricks poss. c. crooks

 a Gauteng a mantsi thata:
 poss.c Johannesburg poss. c. many much
 (He remembered a ditch near the place where he was standing, but dreaded to go closer alone because the tricks of the Johannesburg criminals were pretty many.)

20.4 Ka nako e nngwe e ka re o
 By time adj. c. one sc. can say sc.

bona motho a namaletse wa re o ya go
 see person sc lie (perf.) sc. say sc. go to

mo thusa ntekwane o ikisa tlhabong
 oc. help yet sc. (refl.) go (caus.) kill (loc.)

(At times when you see someone lying next to the road, you may tend to help, but land yourself in trouble.)

20.5 xxx A gadimaka
 xxx sc. look back (ext.)
 (He looked both ways.)

20.6 xxx A ntsha sengwe mo leotong la phase,
 xxx sc. take something on leg of sandal
 (He took out something from his shoe.)

20.7 xxx A se tsenya mo kgetsing ya ka
 xxx Sc. oc. put (caus.) at sack poss. c. by

fa morago,
 here back
 (He put it into his back pocket.)

20.8 xxx A atamela a kwatlaladitse mmele
 xxx Sc. near sc. straighten (perf.) body
 (He approached straightening his body.)

20.9 xxx A gata ka dintsetsekwane.
 xxx sc. tread by high heels
 (He was walking on his toes.)
 (Monyaise, 1965, p. 15)

In the above paragraph, sentence 20.4 reflects the intrusion of the narrator into the story world and the interruption of the story-line. This intrusion of the narrator is indicated by the subject marker of the second person singular *o-* (you) used twice and its singular allomorph *wa-* (you) all referring to the reader. The narrator's intrusion together with the use of the present tense is used to indicate that the author addresses the reader directly, particularly to warn him/her about the tricks of criminals in Johannesburg.

The different characteristics between men and women are always taken for granted in life. In the following text, the narrator harps on the difference in perspective between men and women:

21.1 E ne e le dingwaga ba sa bone Maria.
 sc pst. sc. be years sc. neg. see Maria
 (It was a long time since they had seen Maria.)

21.2 Mme mmaMolamu xxx a ipotsa gore o
 Mother mrs Molamu xxx sc. ask (refl.) that sc.

tla fitlha a reng mme fa a bona mogatse
 fut. arrive sc. say-what but when sc. see husband

a tsamaya jaaka e kete kokelo ya
 sc. walk like as if hospital poss c.

Perekwane e agile mo setsheng sa gagwe,
 Baragwanath sc. build (perf.) at yard (loc.) poss. c. hers
 (Mrs Molamu asked herself what she would say when she arrived, but
 when she saw her husband walking as if the Baragwanath Hospital was
 built on his farm.)

21.3 xxx A itse gore monna le mosadi ba
 xxx sc. know that man and woman sc.

farologane jaaka bosigo le motshegare.
different like night and day

(She realized that a man and a woman were as different as day and night.)

21.4 Fa wena mosadi o bona se se fa
When you woman sc. see rel. c. sc. at

tlase ga dinao tsa gago monna o lebile
under poss c. foot poss. c. your man sc. look (perf.)

tse di mo tlhogong ya thaba moseja
rel.c sc on head (loc.) poss.c. mountain across

ole wa noka
that poss. c. river

(When you, a woman, sees that which is under your feet, a man sees that which is on top of the mountain across the river.)

21.5 xxx A gakologelwa gore o ne a sa
xxx sc. think that sc. pst. sc. neg.

bolo go rera go etela Maria mogatse a gana
long to plan to visit Maria husband sc. refuse

gonne o ne a mo tlodisa matlho, a
because sc pst sc. oc. jump (caus.) eyes sc

dumele fa a gamogile sentle.
agree that sc. mature well

(She remembered that she had long planned to visit Maria, but her husband refused because he underrated her intelligence, believing that she was not normal.)

(Monyaise, 1965, p. 28)

In the above paragraph in example 21, sentence 21.4 reflects the intrusion of the narrator. The presence of the reader is represented by the use of the pronoun *wena* (you) coupled with *mosadi* (woman) and the possessive pronoun *tsa gago* in *dinao tsa gago* (your legs) all referring to the second person. Therefore, the narrator talks directly to a female reader. The interruption of the flow of narration by the narrator as well as the use of the present tense show the intention of the narrator to address the reader directly in order to advise him about the short-sightedness of women on the one hand and the vision of men on the other hand. The author therefore uses events in the story-line to impart the cultural view that the Batswana have about women in general.

Booth (1961: 200) explains this role of the narrator in the following way:

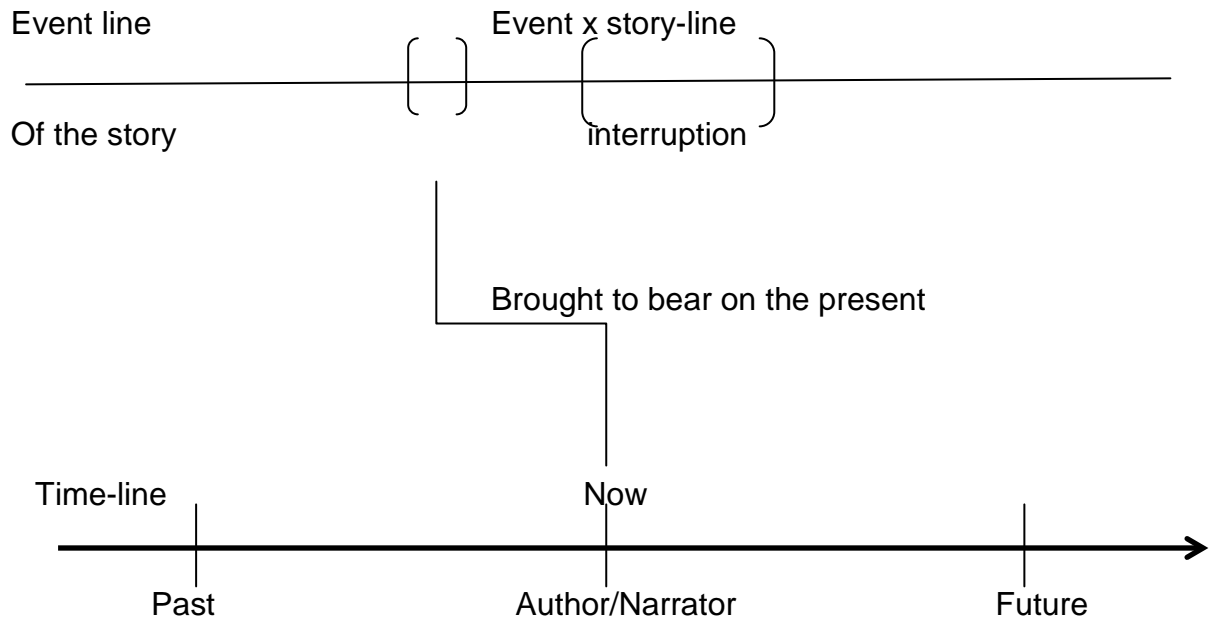
The author provides us with the hard facts, by establishing a world of norms, and by relating the particulars to those norms or by relating the story to general truths.

Thus, narrative texts may be seen as communicative devices used by authors to fight against various ills in the society. Booth (1961: 183) contends that authors fight for generosity against meanness, for kindness as opposed to brutality, and for virtues as against vices. The role of these interruptions is to provide moral and spiritual values in order to work on the beliefs of the reader and to reinforce the values that readers tend to take for granted (Booth 1961, Sickles 1990). Sickles (1990: 27) captures these various roles of the author in the following way:

He is not simply a storyteller; he is also an arbiter of morals, a judge of human nature, a philosopher, a political theorist.

or this purpose, the author relates directly to the events in a story-line by using the experience and actions of his character to these effects.

Diagram 9: The position of the narrator coincides with now:



In the above diagram, one could add to the story-line the reference point, namely the deictic point, the narrator and the reader. In this diagram, the narrator interrupts the story-line as the broken line on the event line indicates. The coherence of the story is kept intact because the point in the event is, in one or another, related to and causes the narrator to diverge. As the diagram shows, the position of the narrator and the reader coincides with the moment of speech.

5.3.3 The perspective of the character or the figural narration

In this sub-section, I am going to examine how the narrator uses tense and aspect in narrating the events through the perspective of the character also known as figural narration (Stanzel 1964) or the character's consciousness (Rimmon-Kennan 1983) or focalizer (Genette 1980). According to Halliday (1970), the expressive meaning is part of the interpersonal function and could be evaluated by analysing the perspectives of the characters. Let me haste to mention that the perspectives of

characters form part and parcel of the story world because the characters inhabit it. As a result, there is no interruption of the development of events in a text.

In this analysis we will be guided and directed by the following questions:

- (i) What tenses and aspects indicate the expressive function of the interpersonal function?
- (ii) What factors determine the use of tenses and aspects in the perspective of the character?

In the following example, the events are narrated through the perspective of the character, Diarona. Her aim as reflected in it is to put the blame on Stella for deceptively winning Pule over. Her perspectives are expressed by means of rhetorical questions as exemplified in the following:

22.1 xxx A tsiboga!
 xxx sc. alert
 (She was frightened.)

22.2 Pule ga a ineele bonolo go le Pule
 neg. sc. asp. give in easily to and

 kalo
 that
 (Pule does not give in so easily.)

22.3 Keng Stella a rata go bua e kete o
 Be-what Stella sc. like to talk as if sc.

 ne a mo tlhomogela pelo?
 pst sc. oc. prick heart
 (Why does Stella like to talk as if she felt pity for her?)

22.4 Keng a sa mo raya a re ntša
 Be-what sc. neg. oc. say sc. say dog

ya gago e a ntshwenya?
 poss. c. your sc. asp. (oc.) bother?
 (Why did she not tell her that her dog is pestering her?)

22.5 Keng a sa bua jalo?
 Be-what sc. neg. talk like?
 (Why did she not say that?)

22.6 Go raya gore ke ena yo o tsamayang
 To say that be she rel. c. sc. walk (rel. suff)

a latlhela dintša tsa batho marapo
 sc. throw dogs poss. c. people bones

gore a tle a ipate ka go re di mo
 that sc. can sc. hide by to say sc. oc.

setse morago a sa di bitsa.
 follow behind sc. neg. oc. call.

(It implies she is the one that throws bones at the dogs of other people
 and later she reasons that they follow her without calling them.)
 (Monyaise, 1965, p. 4)

The events in the paragraph above are narrated through the perspective of one of the main characters, Diarona. These inside views are actualized in sentence 22.3, 22.4, 22.5 and 22.6 and are narrated in the present tense. The narrator adopts the perspective of the character as a means of evaluating Pule's personality as well as convincing the readers about Stella's manipulative strategies of snatching guys from their present girlfriends. The author drives home this view successfully by presenting them through rhetoric questions. The reader is made to look at the story-world through the eyes of the character. What was the present time for the author when the events took place, now becomes the present time for the reader as well. The reason is therefore time-warped (so to speak) into the world of the character and this is

indicated by the use of the present tense. As a result, the reader stands by the narrator by adopting his/her perspective and blaming Stella for the mess Diarona finds herself in. One could therefore conclude that the narrator successfully managed to create sympathy for Diarona.

The author still narrates the following events through the perspective of one of the main characters, Diarona. In this example, the author criticizes Stella's manipulative behaviour and suggests that it will not yield fruits because it is morally indefensibly:

23.1 xxx A gakologelwa mosetsana wa
xxx sc. remember girl poss. c.

morutintshi wa kwa Tlhabane
teacher poss. c. at Tlhabane
(She remembered the lady teacher from Rustenburg.)

23.2 Batho ga ba ditlhong –
People neg sc. ashame
(People are not shy.)

23.3 E re go twe phokokgolo ga e tswe ka
sc. say to say (pass.) big he-goat neg. sc. reveal by

Ngwana wa motho go bo go buiwa
Child poss. c. person sc cond. sc. talk (pass.)

nnete.

truth.

(It is true that a terrible secret is never revealed by a family member.)

23.4 Keng a sa kgotšwa ka nako eo?
Be-what sc. neg. trip (pass.) by time that?

(Why was she not tripped at that time?)

23.5 E ke re e rile morutintshi a lemoga gore
 sc. be say sc. say teacher sc. aware that

ga a tswe tema xxx a loga leano
 neg. sc. come progress xxx sc. make plan.

(It is true that, when the lady teacher realized that she did not make progress, she devised a plan.)

23.6 Mme ka mogoa Modimo a o ikgoela a
 But by caller God sc oc shout(refl.) sc.

itaya ka kwa ntle jaaka tlhobolo ya bujane.
 hit by at outside like firearm poss c. Bujane

(And as the blemisher of the name of God blemishes her/himself, she missed the target like the Bujane's firearm.)

23.7 Stella o mo sema lesilo mme di sa itsaneng di
 Stella sc. oc. regard fool but sc. neg. know (rel. suf.) sc

a welana.

asp. fall (rec.)

(Stella considers her a fool, and foes sometimes meet unexpectedly.)

23.8 Ke matla- ka- maleo o tla ba ruta gore
 Be come by sins sc. fut. oc. teach that

'monna kgelegetlwa' ke go reng?
 man shrub be to say – what?

(It is terrible. He will teach them the true nature of man.)

(Monyaise, 1965, p. 4)

Sentence 23.2, 23.3, 23.4, 23.5, 23.6, 23.7 and 23.8 in the paragraph given above are narrated through the perspective of Diarona and expressed in the present tense. The character's name is omitted in sentence 23.1 but recovered from the introductory

paragraph in the narrative text. These inside views reflect the determination of Diarona to punish Stella severely. The author adopts the perspective of Diarona in order to manipulate the readers into seeing the events from the character's point of view. In this way, the readers see Diarona as a devious person with vicious attempts to destroy the life of Stella. As a result, they distance themselves from her. By using this strategy, the author attempts to align his own views with that of the readers, thus directing them to view the characters from his point of view.

The author uses the perspective of character to reflect the sinister approach that Diarona devises and adopts to murder Stella. The readers sympathize with Diarona because she is not in a healthy position to carry out such a massive and acrimonious task. These views are reflected in the following examples:

24.1 xxx A batla go wa mo bolaong.
 xxx sc. almost to fall on bed (loc.)
 (She nearly fell from the bed.)

24.2 Motshegare!
 Middyay
 (Broad daylight!)

24.3 Keng go mo tshotse nako e telele
 Be-what to oc. take time poss. c. long

 jaana go akanya leano le le bonolo!
 like-that to think plan rel. c. sc. simple
 (Why did she take such a long time to think of such a simple plan!)

24.4 Go bonolo o tla tsamaya a tshotse
 Be simple: sc. fut. walk sc. have

 phuthelwana ya dimonamone,
 packet poss. c. candies
 (It is simple: she will take a packet of candies,)

24.5 mme ka yona o tla kgona go tsena mo phaposeng
but by it sc. fut. able to enter at room (loc.)

e Stella o robaditsweng mo go yona.
rel.c. Stella sc. sleep (pass.) (perf.) on at it
(and as a result, she will be allowed to enter into Stella's ward.)

24.6 xxx A nyenya.
xxx sc. smile
(She smiled wily.)

24.7 Go bonolo gonne baaki ba robala ba
Be simple because nurses sc. sleep poss.c

le bosi.
be alone
(It is simple because the nurses sleep alone.)

24.8 O tla tsena jaaka tsala e e utlwileng bothoko
Sc. fut. enter like friend rel. c. sc. feel(perf.)(rel suf.) pain

go bona Stella a bolailwe ke batho
to see Stella sc. kill (perf.) by people
(She will enter like a friend who has been affected to see Stella who had been attacked.)

24.9 Morago ga moo tsotlhe di tla siama
After at there all sc. fut. perfect
(Later everything will be proper.)
(Monyaise, 1965, p. 12)

In the paragraph given in example 24, the inside views of Diarona are reflected in sentence 24.3 to 24.8. These views are presented in the present tense. The reason for the adoption of the perspective of Diarona and the use of the present tense is that

the narrator intends to align her views to those of his views and that we should see the events from his point of view. The author portrays Diarona as a devious and calculated criminal and wants us as readers to adopt that viewpoint. The author therefore adopts the perspective of Diarona and the present tense in order to bridge the emotional distance between himself and the reader. As a result, the reader sees and interprets the events from the perspective of the author. The author therefore evokes a feeling of hatred in the reader against Diarona particularly for persistently carrying out her devious plans to murder Stella. These perspectives also evoke a sense of pity in Diarona because her state of health does not put her in good stead to carry out such a task. She has the heart and not the will to perform it.

Monyaise (1967) portrays Matlhodi as a wicked selfish lady. The reason is that Matlhodi is depicted as a lady with little regard for human life. This is reflected in her wish that a black crow flying around could gouge the eyes of her husband and son. Her character is illustrated in the following example:

25.1 Mmaagwe o ne a isa dijo tsa balemi
Mother-his sc. pst. sc. take (caus.) food poss. s. ploughers

fa a rakana le dipholo mo tseleng ka
when sc. meet (rec.) and oxen on road (loc.) by

nako ya di tlwaela mafulo
time poss. c. sc. familiar graze

(His mother delivered the food for the ploughers when she met the oxen at about 9'o clock in the morning.)

25.2 ka leitho la mosadi wa Setswana xxx a
By eye poss. c. woman poss. c. Setswana xxx sc.

lemoga gore ga di tswe mo jokong.
aware that neg. sc. return on yoke (loc.)

(On the basis of her experience as an African woman, she immediately realized that the oxen were not yet spanned.)

25.3 xxx A feta Sebaretlelane le Blom tse
 xxx sc. pass Swartland and Blom rel. c.

di neng di ka bo di setse di
 sc. pst. (rel.suff.) sc can cond. sc. already sc.

golotswe fa e ne e se ka bomadimasesane,
 free if sc. pst. sc. neg by blood-thin.

(She passed Swartland and Blom, which could have already been sold, if it
 were not for their poor condition.)

25.4 xxx Di le thele tsa barwa di akga
 xxx sc. be round poss. c Bushman sc. swing

letshwagolo

nipped parts

(They were walking briskly.)

25.5 xxx a feta Rooibloed le Jambloed le
 xxx Sc. pass Rooibloed and Jambloed and

tse dingwe.

adj. c. others

(She passed Rooibloed and Jambloed and others.)

25.6 Phefo e e botlhoko xxx ya mo itaya lesama
 Wind rel. c. sc. painful xxx sc. oc. hit cheek

la molema a itse gore go tla tsoga
 poss.c. left sc. know that sc. fut. wake

go kgerega.

sc. cold

(A cold breeze numbed her left cheek and she immediately realized that it was

going to be terribly cold.)

25.7 xxx Ya mo tlola.

xxx sc oc. jump

(She became angry.)

25.8 xxx A tlhaba mokgosi a sa le kgakala

xxx sc. kill call sc. still be far

gore ba tlogele maroko e bile xxx

that sc leave sleep sc. also xxx

a ntse a supa ka monwana.

sc. still sc. point by finger

(She shouted from a distance, telling them to get going and simultaneously pointing with her finger.)

25.9 xxx A bona legakabe le dikologa mogoma

xxx sc. see black crow sc. round plough

(She saw a black crow encircling the plough.)

25.10 Ga le ba gonyetseng matlho ba sa

Neg. sc. oc. gouge (ben. perf.) eyes sc. still

ntse ba ile ka maroko.

still sc. go (perf.) by sleep (pl.)

(Why does it not gouge their eyes out while they are asleep?)

25.11 Tukisang o digela tema ya mo

Tukisang sc complete task poss. c. on

mosong bomatlhogole bona motho le rraagwe

morn (loc.) novices they person and father-his

ba tshwaragane le boroko.
 sc. catch (neut.) and sleep

(Tukisang is finishing the morning task, the novices, the son and his father, are enjoying their sleep.)

25.12 Bonang!

Look-(pl.)
 (Look!)

25.13 Obakeng o perepetsega le mebutla
 Obakeng sc. chase and hares

monnamogolo ena o kgontlha maroko mo
 old-man he sc. enjoy sleep on

godimo ga mogoma!
 top poss. c. plough

(Obakeng is chasing hares and the old man is enjoying his sleep on top of the plough.)

25.14 xxx A tlhaba mokgosi a šakgetse.
 xxx sc. stab shout sc. angry
 (She shouted angrily.)

25.15 Fa morwae a utlwa xxx a itse gore o
 When son-her sc. hear xxx sc. know that sc.

tshwanetse go dirang.
 must to do-what

(When her son heard her, he knew what to do.)

25.16 Le ena jaanong xxx a bona legakabe le
 And he now xxx sc. see black crow sc.

dikologa mogoma.
round plough

(Now he also saw a black crow circling around the plough.)

25.17 xxx A sela lekote a latlhela ka thata ya
xxx sc. pick plod sc. throw by power poss. c.

gagwe yotlhe gore a se le utlwise botlhoko
his all that sc. neg. oc. feel (caus.) pain
(He picked up a clod and threw it with all his might so that he should kill it.)

25.18 xxx A fitlha mo mogomeng jaanong a
xxx sc. arrive on plough (loc.) now sc.

itse gore ke eng legakabe le ntse le dikologa
know that be what black crow sc. still sc. round

mogoma.

plough

(He arrived at the plough and now understood why the black crow was encircling it.)

(Monyaise 1967, p. 2)

Sentence 25.10, 25.11, 25.12 and 25.13 reflect the inside views of Matlhodi and are also narrated in the present tense. The narrator narrates these sentences through the perspective of Matlhodi in order to reflect her personality. Matlhodi wishes that the black crow flying around the field could gouge the eyes of her son and husband, thus blinding them. This conclusion is drawn on the basis of the use of *ga le ba gonyetseng* (why does it not gouge their eyes out). Her meanness is reflected in the use of terms such as *bomatlhogole* (novices), *o peperetsega* (pursues aimlessly) and *o kgontlha* (oversleeping unnecessarily). Her disparaging attack is driven home by comparing their laziness with the industriousness of her brother Tukisang. In this passage, Matlhodi is depicted as a mean and wicked person who stops at nothing to

realize her aims. Furthermore, the author uses the present tense in order to manipulate the reader to adopt his views, particularly of depicting Matlhodi as a cruel and calculating person with devious ideas. The narrator successfully drives home the message on the character of Matlhodi. As a result, he wins the sympathy and emotions of the readers who pity the two characters, Obakeng and Oshupile.

The perspective of characters gives us a different dimension on the character of Matlhodi. In the following paragraph, Matlhodi takes a close look at her life and finally blames herself for the misery she caused her husband, Oshupile:

26.1 Pula e ne e letse e komakomile mme e
Rain sc. pst. sc. sleep (perf.) sc. drizzle (perf.) but sc.

sa kolobisa gore mogoma o ka relela fela le
neg. wet (caus.) that plough sc. can slip only and

gale lekote le ne le phatsima.
then clod sc. pst sc. shine

(Rain had fallen lightly the previous day to render the ground suitable for ploughing.)

26.2 Oshupile mogatsaka ke gopola mafoko a
Oshupile husband-my sc. remember words poss. c.

gago motsing go re neng re boa kwa
you time (loc.) that sc pst (rel. c.) sc. return at

gae
home

(Oshupile, my husband, I remember your words at the time we were returning from home.)

26.3 O nthaya o re ke nne mosadi
sc. oc-tell sc. say sc. become woman

mokotleng wa gago o tla menola lefatshe.
 spine (loc.) poss. c. your sc. fut. overturn earth
 (You said I should support you at all costs, you will turn the world upside
 down.)

26.4 Ga o a le menola mogatsaka mme seo
 Neg. sc asp. oc. overturn husband-my but that

ga se re sepe
 neg. sc. say nothing
 (You did not change it; may husband, but that means nothing.)

26.5 Se segolo ke gore o sule o na le
 adj. c. big be that sc. die (perf.) sc. has and

maikaelelo ao.
 aims those
 (The main issue is that you passed away cherishing those ideals.)

26.6 Ke itse gore ke go lomeeditse ka dilo di le
 sc. know that sc. to distract by things rel.c. sc.

dintsi.
 many
 (I know that I denied you many things.)

26.7 Kana go botlhoko jang fa monna
 Instead sc. painful how when man

kgotsa mosadi a golagane ka nyalo
 or woman sc. tie (rec.) by marriage

le yo o mo itsang go rena!
and rel c. sc. oc. disallow to rule!

(By the way, it is painful when a man or wife is tied up through marriage to someone who denied him/her to rule!)

26.8 Ke go lomeleditse
sc. oc. deny (perf.)
(I denied you to rule.)

26.9 Ga ke a dira matsapa ape go leka go
Neg. sc asp. do efforts any to try to

go ithuta
oc. learn (refl.)
(I did not make any efforts to know you.)

26.10 Ga ke a leka go go itse
Neg. sc. asp. try to oc. know
(I did not try to know you.)

26.11 Ka dipaka tsotlhe go ne go ikgopotse nna
By seasons all sc. pst. sc. think (refl.) I

fela nna yo ke se nang matlho yo ke se
alone I rel c. sc. neg. has eyes rel.c sc. neg.

nang ditsebe yo ke se nang maitlho.
has ears rel. c. sc. neg. has vision
(On many occasions, I was just self-centred – I who have no eyes, who have no ears, who have no aim in life.)

26.12 Tukisang a re ke nna ke go bolaileng
Tukisang sc. say sc. I sc. oc. kill (perf.)

mme ga a ake.

but neg. sc lie

(Tukisang says I am the one who murdered you cold-bloodedly, and he is not lying.)

26.13 Ntlha nka go bolaya ka mabogo go na
Why sc.(can) oc. kill by hands sc has

le go go hupetsa mowa! ...

and to oc. suffocate air

(Why should I murder you instead of suffocating you ...)

26.14 Dikgopolo tse di ne di feresa mo moweng
Ideas these sc. pst. sc. run on air

wa gagwe fa a tla a setse morwae morago

poss. c. his when sc. come sc. follow son-she behind

(These ideas were toying around in her mind when she followed her son around.)

((Monyaise 1967, p. 11)

Sentence 26.2 up to 26.13 in paragraph 26 above reflect the inside views of Matlhodi and are expressed in the present tense. These sentences contain the utterances of Matlhodi as she speaks to herself, *Oshupile mogatsaka, ke gopola mafoko a gago* (Oshupile, my husband, I remember your words). The use of the predicate *ke gopola* implies that this sentence reflects the inside views of the character. In this self-reflection, Matlhodi takes us back to the events some years ago when she first met her husband, Oshupile. During that period, Oshupile promised to realize certain goals in life provided his wife supported him wholeheartedly. This self-reflection serves as self-criticism on the part of Matlhodi. She maintains that her husband failed to realize his aims because he did not get the necessary support from her. The second issue is that Matlhodi takes full responsibility for the death of her husband. Therefore, the role of the inside views as well as the present tense is to reflect on the irreconcilability between Matlhodi and Oshupile. This unhappy marriage led to Oshupile suffering a

heart attack and finally to his ultimate death. The author uses these two techniques to manipulate the readers to adopt his point of view, particularly the view that Matlhodi was a self-centred, arrogant and evil woman.

In the following paragraph, the chief of Phiritona justifies the verdict that his court comes up with in a case:

27.1 “Monna ema fa ke go bone.”
 “Man stand here sc. oc. see”
 (“Hi, stand here so that I can see you clearly.”)

27.2 xxx Ya mo keleka sentle
 xxx sc. oc. watch well
 (He looked at him closely.)

27.3 Fa e lemoga gore ke lesapo fela, xxx ya eletsa
 When sc. realize that sc. bone only xxx sc. wish

 e kete o ka bo a sa ema fa pele
 as if sc. can cond. sc. neg. stand at before

 ga yona.
 poss c. him.
 (When he realized that he was skinny, he wished that he should not have stood in front of him.)

27.4 Etswa fa a le molato e tshwanetse go
 Though if sc. be guilty sc. must (perf.) to

 mmona molato e be e mo otlhae ka petso
 oc.-see guilty sc. then sc. oc. punish by stroke

e e bothoko.

rel. c. sc. painful.

(If he were guilty, he had to charge him, and punish him suitably well.)

27.5 xxx Ya gakologelwa gore rraagwe o leofetse Bakwena
xxx sc. remember that father-his sc. sin (perf.) Bakwena

ka go nyala moditšhaba motlhanka wa
by to marry foreigner servant poss. c.

madi a masesane mme bontsi bo
blood poss.c thin but many sc.

itumeletse sona seo.
happy (perf.) it that.

(He remembered that his father sinned by getting married to a foreigner, an uncultured person, and many were appreciating that fact.)

27.6 Bona jaaka ba itatswa dipounama ka ba
Look as sc. lick (refl.) lips as sc.

tlwaetse.

used-to (perf.)

(Look at how they lick their lips, because they are used to it.)

27.7 Gompieno ke itsega ke le kgosi e e
Today sc. know sc. be king rel.c. sc.

setlhogo ka e le bona ba ntirileng jalo
ruthless because sc. be they sc. oc.-make (rel.suff.)

ka go leka go itumedisa dipelo tsa bona
by to try to happy (refl.) (caus.) hearts poss.c. they

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|-----|------|-------------------|-----|----|--------|----------|
| tse | di | sa | kgoreng, | le | go | tlatsa | dimpa |
| rel. c. | sc. | neg. | full (rel. suff.) | and | to | fill | stomachs |

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|-----|------------|--------|---------|-----|------|---------|
| tse | di | gabetsweng | rure | tse | di | sa | tlaleng |
| rel. c. | sc. | empty | always | rel. c. | sc. | neg. | full |

(Today I am known to be a ruthless king, even though they made me what I am by intending to please their hardened hearts and to fill up their bottomless tummies.)

27.8 Ke ba tlhoile
 sc. oc. Hate (perf)
 (I hate them.)

27.9 Fa ke ba tlhabela ke siame (perf.)
 When sc. oc. slaughter sc. good (perf.)
 (If I do slaughter for them, I am good.)

27.10 Fa ke sa tlhabe, ke (pres.) setlhogo ke busa ka
 When sc. neg. slaughter sc. (pres.) ruthless sc rule by
 kgobelelo.
 oppression
 (If I do not slaughter for them, I am ruthless, I rule by oppression.)

27.11 Moeteledipele o dirwa ke balatedi
 Leader sc. mould (pass.) by followers
 ba gagwe se o leng sona.
 poss. c. his rel. c. sc. be (rel.suff.) it
 (A leader is created by the character of his followers.)

27.12 Fa o le molemo ke (pres.) ka go bo o
 If sc. be good sc. (pres.) by to cond. sc.

busa morafe o o molemo,
 rule tribe rel. c. sc. good
 (If you are good, it is because you rule a good community.)

27.13 Fa o le bosula ke ka go bo o busa
 If sc. be bad sc. by to cond. sc. rule

morafe o o bosula.
 tribe rel. c. sc. bad
 (If I am bad, it is because I rule a bad community.)

27.14 Go ntse (perf.) fela jalo
 Sc. sit (perf) like that
 (It is as simple as that.)

27.15 Ke maemo a moeteledipele ao
 sc. positions poss. c. leader those
 (It is the position of a leader.)

27.16 Se se molemo se sentle ke se se
 rel. c. sc. good sc. good be rel. c. sc.

itumedisang bomabina- go- tsholwa,
 happy (refl.) (caus.) dance to dish-out (pass.)
 (What is good is appreciated and that is what pleases the nobodies.)

27.17 Mme e re ka bontsi jwa morafe e le
 But sc. say by many poss. c. tribe sc. be

bomabina- go- tsholwa, puso ya morafe e
 dancer to dish-out (pass.) leadership poss. c tribe sc.

laolwa ke dimpa tsa bona, e seng
 control (pass.) by belly poss. c. they sc. not

tlhaloganyo ya moeteledipele
 mind poss. c. leader

(And since the majority of the community are the nobodies, the leadership of the community depends on their tummies, not the intelligence of the leader.)

27.18 Go ba tlogela ... a! go leka go ba tlogela o (pres.)
 To sc. leave oh to try to sc. leave sc. (pres.)

le mang wena?
 be who you?

(To ignore them . . . oh! to try to ignore their wishes, who would you be ... you?)

27.19 xxx Ya itemoga
 xxx sc. realize (refl.)
 (He came to his senses.)
 (Monyaise 1967, p. 18)

In these sentences, the author carefully evaluates in terms of societal norm the criteria for a good and bad leader. A good leader, in the eyes of the members of his community, is the one who slaughters for them. The king of Phiritona criticizes this perception because a leader will always act to please them. Such a society cannot sort out the problem confronting them. The king comes to the conclusion that the personality of the king is created by his society. The use of the inside views and the present tense therefore reflects the criticism the king dishes out to his community. We, the readers, appreciate the dilemma in which the king finds himself and we sympathise with and pity him.

The author does all these things with the main objective of winning the reader's favour and attempting to persuade the reader to accept his or her viewpoint (Hyland 2002). The author achieves this through the use of personal pronouns, the present

tense and deictics because these grammatical entities indicate the author's personal commitment to the propositions. Hyland (2002: 217) refers to this as the performance of a cognitive act "where readers are initiated into a new domain of argument, led through a line of reasoning, or directed to understand a point in a certain way".

5.4 CONCLUSION

In this subsection, I arrive at the conclusion that the author is responsible for manipulating the present tense to create literary effects in a narrative text. The use of the present tense is realized in the case where the narrator communicates with the reader directly with a view to stress certain events making up the plot of the narrative. The narrator also uses the present tense to impart cultural information to the reader with a view to mould his or her behaviour or character. The final instance of the use of the present tense comes to the fore in cases where events are narrated through the perspective of a character. In all these instances, the narrator manipulates the perspective of the character as well as the present tense in order to win the reader over to his side.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the main aim is to summarize the main points of this research and relate them to the wider field of discourse analysis. This is done in three ways. In section 6.2, I will summarize the discourse functions of tense and aspect that constitute part and parcel of the research findings of this thesis. Furthermore, I will situate these findings within the wider field of research in discourse-functional approach. In section 6.3, I will relate these findings to the theoretical framework discussed in chapter 3. Finally in section 6.4, I will suggest possible topics for further research.

6.2 SUMMARY

The main purpose of this thesis was to explore in detail the discourse functions of tense and aspect in selected Setswana narrative texts by D.P.S. Monyaise, a famous Setswana author from Soweto, Johannesburg.

These discourse functions are arrived at by examining

- (i) The uses and significances of the various tenses and aspects with respect to foreground and background,
- (ii) The uses and the significances of the overt and covert past tense marker, and
- (iii) The uses and significances of the tenses and aspects that the author uses to manipulate the sympathy of the reader(s).

In chapter 1, I made the claim that the proper analysis of the functions of tense and aspect was the domain of discourse and that such a research should take the semantics of tense and aspect as a point of departure. In researching this topic along

these lines, I adopted Reichenbach's (1947) division of the time line in terms of the time of speech (S), the time of the event (E) and the reference point (R). Furthermore, I interpreted the difference between tense and aspect in terms of deixis, interpreting tense as deictic and aspect as non-deictic in nature. On the other hand, the interpretation of aspect becomes clear once a situation is said to be ongoing or completed (cf. Smith 1991, Sasse 1990, Brinton 1968). Furthermore, the deictic feature is necessary in the interpretation of tense as situation-external and aspect-situation internal (cf. Comrie 1985, Smith 1991).

In Setswana, we distinguished between tense and aspect on the basis of form and semantics. Tense is realized formally in terms of auxiliary verbs and aspect in terms of auxiliary verbs and bound morphemes. We distinguished three types of tenses as the present, future and past tenses and three types of aspects as the perfect, progressive and habitual aspects. In chapter 4 and 5, three discourse functions of tense and or aspect were discovered as grounding, i.e. foreground and background; text-structuring and the interpersonal function. With regard to the role of tense and aspect in grounding, the narrative data were divided and analysed in terms of the introduction or setting, the complication and the end. I draw the conclusion that only two tenses, namely the past and the present find expression in the introduction and the conclusion of a narrative.

The various tenses and aspect in narrative texts perform different functions. The role of the past tense is to recount the narrative events or is involved with the story-telling act. As a result, the past tense is referred to as the unmarked or prototypical tense of narrative texts (Fleischman 1990), the narrative tense (Waugh 1990) or the epic tense (Stanzel 1964). This view also gets solid support and is consistent with the findings in discourse analysis. On this note, the past tense is said to be capturing the distal characterization of events (Björklund 1993). The reason for this is that the narrated time takes place before the narrating time. Hence, the verbalization of the incidents occurs after the experiencing of incidents.

Another reason for the use of the past tense in narrative texts is to provide them with an imaginative dimension, thus bolstering the view that it is creative work with fictive characteristics (cf. Hamburger 1978, Stanzel 1970, Fleischman 1990). On the other

hand, the use of the present tense is to accord the text a dimension of reality. It gives the reader first-hand experience of the story. As a result, the narrated time is collapsed into the narrating time.

The finding about the role of the present and past tenses in the introduction is in line with the finding in Fludernik (2002) and Fleischman (1990). Both scholars recognize the use of both tenses in the introductory part of the narrative. However, these findings seem to contradict a vast number of findings (e.g. Fleischman 1985, Hopper and Thompson 1980, Dry 1983 and others). Basing their analyses on French narrative texts, these scholars draw the conclusion that the *imparfait* aspect (i.e. present tense in our case) finds expression in the setting or introduction. The reason for their conclusion is that the setting or introduction constitutes the background and not the foreground in the narrative. This thesis finds this conclusion incomplete. It would have been complete if they could have acknowledged the use of both the present and past tenses in the setting or orientation.

Moreover, the complication is teeming with various tenses and aspects, namely the past and present tenses, the past perfect, the past habitual and past progressive aspects. The role of the various tenses and aspects in the complication has also been researched and captured. The role of the past and present tenses is not different from that in the introduction. On the other hand, the role of the past perfect aspect is to indicate flashback (McCoard 1978, Caenepeel 1995), that of the habitual aspect to indicate repetitive events and that of the progressive aspect to mark continuous events. What is interesting is that the past tense is always found in the company of the past perfect, the past habitual and past progressive aspects. On the other hand, the present tense enjoys the company of the present perfect, the present habitual and present progressive aspects.

The text-structuring function of tense in Setswana narrative texts is evaluated in terms of the appearance (overt) and disappearance (covert) of the past tense morpheme. The finding of this thesis is that the appearance (overt) of the past tense performs two different functions in the text. The first is that the appearance of the past tense morpheme marks the beginning of an episode, which comprises a number of paragraphs with a beginning, middle and conclusion. On this basis, the thesis

draws the conclusion that the narrative text *Ngaka, mosadi mooka* comprises eight different episodes, based on the appearance of this covert past tense morpheme. This finding on the function of the past tense contradicts that of Levinsohn (1994) who characterizes this function as indicating the beginning of a paragraph. In arriving at this conclusion, it appears as if Perrin (1983), as quoted by Levinsohn (1994), restricted his analysis to a short discourse. Perrin (1983) would have arrived at different results if he could have analyzed a larger text.

The second function of the appearance of the past tense morpheme is to demarcate a paragraph in terms of parts comprising unrelated information. This division comes into effect during the interruption of the flow of narration. As already shown, the part may contain descriptive information or indicate flashback. As already stated, this function of the past perfect aspect as a marker of flashback is not new in the literature (see McCoard 1978, Caenepeel 1995).

On the other hand, the omission (covert) of the past tense morpheme also serves two functions in the text. The first function is that its omission serves as a cohesive unit. In this case, the appearance (overt) of the past tense morpheme is the antecedent and the deleted (covert) past tense morpheme is the anaphor. This means that the past tense marker which is introduced serves as the antecedent. Furthermore, the paragraphs in which the past tense morpheme has been deleted and which follow the paragraph containing the past tense morpheme are all tied up into a cohesive unit. The second function of the deleted past tense morpheme is to indicate an intra-episodic structure. This means that all these paragraphs in which the past tense morpheme has been deleted combine with the paragraph in which the past tense marker appears to form an episode. Therefore, I have arrived at the conclusion that in *Ngaka, Mosadi mooka*, the first paragraph together with other paragraph (totalling close to thirty nine paragraphs and made up of seven pages) in the ten pages constitute an episode. On this basis, the omission of the past tense morpheme binds all these paragraphs into a solid cohesive unit.

The interpersonal function is realized primarily through the use of the present tense. In this thesis, I consider the function of the present tense as the expression of the conative, social and expressive meanings. On the one hand, the conative and social

meanings come to the fore in cases where the narrator addresses the reader directly. With regard to the conative meaning, the narrator addresses the reader with the aim of teaching, explaining, or guiding him/her, or drawing his/her attention to a specific issue in the text. On the other hand, the social meaning is realized when the narrator teaches the reader about the values of life. Finally, the expressive meaning is realized when the author uses the consciousness of the character to manipulate the feeling and attitude of the reader.

In this thesis, I have come to the conclusion that three uses of the present tense are realized. The first use of the present tense is what is generally referred to as the historic present tense, the second, the narrator addresses the reader directly and the third the author uses it to manipulate the feelings of the reader. The findings are not new in research (cf. Fleischman 1990, Sickles 1990). The use of the historic present tense is to indicate the climax of the narrative (cf. Waugh 1990, Fleischman 1990, Schiffrin 1990). This use of the present tense is usually situated in the complication of the text. Furthermore, the second use of the present tense comes to the fore in cases where the author addresses the reader.. The final use of the present tense is to heighten the emotional intensity of the reader (Fludernik 2002, Fleischman 1990). This the author does through viewing incidents through the perspective of the character. On this basis, Sickles (1990) characterizes the author as a multi-functional creature performing narrative and non-narrative functions. The role of the present tense is carry out those non-narrative functions.

6.3 THE CONTRIBUTION OF THIS RESEARCH TO LANGUAGE STUDY

The research finding of this thesis makes a tremendous contribution to the theoretical framework discussed in chapter 3. It provides overwhelming support for and lends credibility to the fact that discourse analysis is the proper level for the analysis of the overall functions of a linguistic item (cf. Fleischman 1986, Waugh and Monville 1988, Waugh 1990). Furthermore, the semantic functions of a linguistic item serve as a springboard for its discourse functions. In this thesis, it has been proved that the semantics of tense and aspect serves as a point of departure for their narrative and non-narrative functions. The qualification of the past tense as the unmarked or

prototypical tense of the narrative discourse also weighs positively towards this theoretical framework (Fleischman 1990, Waugh 1990, Stanzel 1964).

The research finding of this thesis makes a tremendous contribution to the theoretical framework because it shapes and refines the contributions of earlier researchers. The discourse functions of tense and aspect such as grounding and interpersonal functions were subjected to thorough evaluation. Another factor for the need for discourse analysis is that the framework always breaks new unexplored grounds. The role of tense and aspect as text-structuring devices is the case in point. This result supports the view that the discourse functions are innumerable and in the analysis new ones come to the fore (cf. Hasan 1978, Waugh 1990, Gutwinski 1975 and Givon 1984). As a result, the contention that the discourse-functional approach is the effective research apparatus in the analysis of the function of linguistic item gets overwhelming support.

6.4 RECOMMENDED TOPICS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Stein and Glen (1979) characterize the spatio-temporal setting of a narrative as indicating or describing the social, physical or the temporal context in the story. By this, they imply that the setting provides descriptions in a narrative and consists mainly of stative verbs and habitual states of characters or spatial location. Furthermore, the tense in these descriptions is usually the past or the present tense. The use of the past tense is in line with the narrative tense, namely the past tense. Its role is to maintain the time frame of the text. Otherwise the tense could be the present tense. Its use is to bridge the gap between the narrated time and the narrating time.

A second form of descriptive statement emerged in the narrative texts. The thesis identifies another type of description which uses verbs of motion, particularly in the description of rivers (e.g. *Encandu*) and the roads leading to *Tukisang's* cattle post. In these descriptions, both the past and present tenses are exploited. The research into the descriptive statements involving the use of motion verbs appears to be a possible topic for research. Since the use of the present and past tenses are involved in these descriptions, it would be necessary to establish the contexts and the

motivation for their use of these motion verbs. In this way, the differences between these descriptive statements would be established beyond a reasonable doubt.

This thesis, like others before it, paid a good deal of attention to the analysis of tense and aspect in narrative discourse. It is therefore necessary that researchers should examine the role of tense and aspect in various text types other than the narrative. Therefore the role of tense and aspect in other discourse types, such as the argumentative, expository and hortatory discourse types could also serve as a possible research topic (Virtanen 1992, Fleischman 1990, Fludernik 2003). Such research is necessary to shed new light into the role of tense and aspect in these different text types.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andersson, S-G. 1991. "Tense functions in scientific texts." In Gvozdanovič, J. & Th. Janssen (eds.). 1991. *The function of tense in texts*, pp. 1-16. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Ballweg, J. 1991. "German tenses, tense logic, context change and the temporal interpretation of texts." In Gvozdanovič, J. & Th. Janssen (eds.). *The function of tense in texts*, pp. 17-34. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Bartsch, R. 1988. "Tenses and aspects in discourse". *Theoretical Linguistics* 15(1-2): 133-194.
- Bhat, D. N. S. 1999. *The prominence of tense aspect and mood*. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
- Benveniste, E. 1971. *Problems in general linguistics*. (Translated by M. E. Meek). Coral Gables: University of Miami Press.
- Binnick, R.J. 1990. *Time and the verb*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Björklund, M. 1993. *Narrative strategies in Chekov's The Steppe: Cohesion, grounding and point of view*. Åbo: Åbo Akademis Forslag.
- Bondarko, A. 1991. *Functional grammar. A field approach*. Amsterdam: Benjamin.
- Booth, W. 1961. *The rhetoric of fiction*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Brinton, L.J. 1988. *The development of the English aspectual systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brinton, L. J. 1992. "The historical present in Charlotte Brontë's novels: Some discourse functions." *Style* 26 (1): 221-244.
- Bybee, J. R. et al. 1994. *The evolution of grammar*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Caenepeel, M. 1995. "Aspect and text structure." *Linguistics* 3: 223-253.
- Calzada-Pérez, M. 1998. "Studying prejudices: An ideological approach to Alan Bennett's *Bed among the Lentils*". *Text* 18(1): 39-65.
- Cantrall, W. R. 1974. *Viewpoint, reflexives and the nature of noun phrases*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Carlson, L. 1981. "Aspect and quantification." In Tedeschi, P. and A. Zaenen (eds.) *Tense and aspect*, pp. 31-64. New York: Academic Press.

- Chaput, P. R. 1990, "Temporal and semantic factors affecting Russian aspect choice in questions." In Thelin, N. B. 1990 (ed.). *Verbal aspect in discourse*, pp. 285-306. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
- Chatman, S. 1978. *Story and discourse: Narrative structure in fiction and film*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Chomsky, N. 1965. *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Chvany, C. V. 1990. "Verbal aspect, discourse saliency, and the so called perfect of result in Modern Russian." In Thelin, N. B. (ed.). *Verbal aspect in discourse*, pp. 213-235. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
- Clark, H. H. 1973. "Space, time, semantics, and the child." In Moore, T. E. (ed.) *Cognitive development and the acquisition of language*, pp. 27-63. New York: Academic Press.
- Cohn, D. 1999. *The distinction of fiction*. Baltimore: John Hopkins.
- Cole, D. T. 1975. *Introduction to Tswana grammar*. Johannesburg: Longman.
- Comrie, B. 1976. *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Comrie, B. 1985. *Tense*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Contini-Morava, E. 1991. "Negation, probability and temporal boundedness, discourse functions of negative tenses in Swahili." In Gvozdanovič, J. and Th. Janssen (eds.). 1991. *The function of tense in texts*, pp. 35 – 51. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E. 1980. "Foregrounding and the temporal relations in narrative discourse." In Schopf, A. (ed.). *Essays on tensing in English. II Time, text and modality*, pp. 7-29. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Cox, B. E., Shanahan T. and M. B. Tinzman 1991. "Children's knowledge of organization, cohesion, and voice in written exposition. *Research in the teaching of English* 25 (2): 179-218.
- Crismore, A. 1989. *Talking with readers: Metadiscourse as rhetorical act*. New York: P. Lang.
- Dahl, Ö. 1984. "Temporal distance: remoteness, distinctions in tense and aspect systems." In Butterworth, B., B. Comrie and O. Dahl. *Explanations for language universals*, pp. 105 -122. The Hague: Mouton.

- Dahl, Ö. 1985. *Tense and aspect systems*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Davidsen-Nielsen, N. 1990. *Tense and mood in English: A comparison with Danish*. Berlin: Mouton de Greyter.
- De Beaugrande, R. and W. U. Dressler. 1985. *Introduction to text linguistics*. London: Longman.
- De Saussure, F. 1916. *Course in general linguistics*. London: Peter Owen.
- Descles, J-P & Z. Guentcheva. 1990. "Discourse analysis of aorist and imperfect in Bulgarian and French." In Thelin, N. B.. 1990 (ed.). *Verbal aspect in discourse*, pp. 237-261. Amsterdam: Benjamin.
- Dickens, C. 1986. *David Copperfield*. London: Collins.
- Dimter, M. 1985. "On text Classification." In Van Dijk, T. A. (ed) *Discourse and Literature*. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
- Doke, C. M. 1927. *The textbook of the Zulu language*. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.
- Doležel, L. 1973. *Narrative modes in Czech literature*. Toronto: University of Toronto.
- Dothwaite, J. 2000. *Towards a linguistic theory of foregrounding*. Alessandria: Rina et Lite.
- Dowty, D. R. 1972. *Studies in the logic of verb aspect and time reference in English*. University of Texas dissertation, Austin.
- Dry, H. A. 1981. "Sentence aspect and the movement of narrative time." *Text 1*: 233-40.
- Dry, H. A. 1983. "The movement of narrative time." *The Journal of Literary Semantics* 12(2):19-54.
- Dry, H. A. 1992. "Foregrounding: An assessment". In Hwang, S. J. J. and W. R. Merrifield (eds.). *Language in context: Essays for Robert E. Longacre*, pp. 435-450. Arlington: SIL.
- Durst-Andersen, P. 2000. "The English progressive as description." *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 32: 45–103.
- Edley, N. and M. Wetherell. 1999. "Imagined futures: young men talk about fatherhood and domestic life." *British journal of social psychology* 38: 181–194.
- Ehrlich, S. 1987. "Aspect, foregrounding and point of view." *Text 7*(4): 363-376.

- Engel, D. M. 1990. *Tense and text: A study of French past tenses*. London: Routledge.
- Fabricius-Hansen, C. 1991. "Frame and reference time in complex sentences." In Gvozdanovič, J. and Th. Janssen (eds.). *The function of tense in texts*, pp.53-73. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Fanning, B. M. 1990. *Verbal aspect in the New Testament Greek*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fielder, G.E. 1990. "Narrative context and Russian aspect." In Thelin, N. B. (ed.). *Verbal aspect in discourse*, pp. 263-284. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
- Firth, J. R. 1957. *Papers in linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fleischman, S. 1985. "Discourse functions of tense-aspect oppositions in narrative: towards a theory of grounding." *Linguistics* 23: 851-82.
- Fleischman, S. 1990. *Tense and narrativity: From medieval performance to modern fiction*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Fleischman, S. 1991. "Towards a theory of tense- aspect in narrative discourse." In Gvozdanovič, J. and Th. Janssen (eds.). *The function of tense in texts*, pp. 75-97. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Fludernik, M. 1996. *Towards a 'natural' narratology*. London: Routledge.
- Fludernik, M. 2003. "Chronology, time, tense and experientiality in narrative". *Language and Literature* 12(2): 117-134.
- Forster, E.M. 1965. *Aspects of the novel*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Forsyth, J. 1970. *A grammar of aspect: usage and meaning in the Russian verb*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fowler, R. 1977. *Linguistics and the novel*. London: Methuen.
- Friedman N. 1955. "Distance and point of view: An essay in classification". *PMLA* LXX: 1160-1184.
- Friedrich, P. 1974. "On aspect theory and Homeric aspect." *International Journal of American Linguistics* 40:1-44.
- Fuchs, A. 1991. "Deixis, Relevance and tense/aspect". In Gvozdanovič, J. and Th. Janssen (eds.). *The function of tense in texts*, pp. 99-123. Amsterdam: North-Holland.

- Garvin, P. L. 1964. *A Prague school reader on aesthetics, literary structure and style*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Gasparov, B. 1990. "Notes on the metaphysics of Russian." In Thelin, N. B. (ed.). *Verbal aspect in discourse*, pp.191-212. Amsterdam: Benjamin.
- Geeraerts, D. 1989. "Prospects and problems of prototype theory". *Linguistics* 27: 587–612.
- Genette, G. 1980. *Narrative discourse: An essay in method*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Georgi, A. & F. Pianesi. 1997. *Tense and aspect. From semantics to morphosyntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Givón, T. 1987. "Beyond foreground and background." In Tomlin, R. *Coherence and grounding in discourse*, pp. 177-188. Philadelphia: John Benjamin.
- Givón, T. 1984. [1990] *Syntax: A functional – typological introduction*. Vol. 1. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
- Givón, T. 2001. *Syntax: An introduction*. Vol 1. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
- Grimes, J. E. 1975. *The thread of discourse*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Guthrie, M. 1948. *The classification of Bantu languages*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Gutwinski, W. 1975. *Cohesion in literary text*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Gvozdanovič, J. 1991. "Meaning and interpretation of tense." In Gvozdanovič, J. and Th. Janssen. (eds.). *The function of tense in texts*, pp. 125–141. Amsterdam: North–Holland.
- Haan, S. de. 1991. "Meaning and use of the Dutch perfect." In Gvozdanovič, J. and Th. Janssen (eds.) *The function of tense in texts*, pp. 143-156. Amsterdam: North–Holland.
- Hall, L. 2005. *The relative tenses in Zulu*. M. A. dissertation. Pretoria University.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1970. "Functional diversity in language as seen from a consideration of modality and mood in English." *Foundations of language* 16: 322-361.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1978. *Language as social semiotic: Social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.

- Halliday, M. A. K. and R. Hasan. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Hambürger, K. 1973. *The logic of literature*. (Translated by M. J. Rose.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Harwood, N. 2005. "We do not seem to have a theory . . . The theory I present here attempts to fill this gap': inclusive and exclusive pronouns in academic writing". *Applied linguistics* 26: 343–375.
- Haspelmath, M. 1997. *From space to time: temporal adverbials in the world's languages*. München: Lincom.
- Hatav, G. 1989. "Aspect, Aktionarten and the time line." *Linguistics* 27: 487-516.
- Hatav, G. 1993. "The aspect system in English: an attempt at a unified analysis." *Linguistics* 31: 209-237.
- Hausenblas, E. 1964. "On the chararization and classification of discourse". *Travaux Linguistiques de Prague* 1: 67–83.
- Herslund, M. 1994. "Review of Vetters & Vandewegde's *Perspectives on aspect and Aktionsart*". *Lingua* 93: 239-243.
- Hlongwane, J. B. "The narrative tense in Zulu." *South African Journal African Languages* 16: 46–52.
- Hockett, C. F. 1958. *A course in modern linguistics*. New York: MacMillan.
- Holden, K. T. 1990. "The functional evolution of aspect in Russian." In Thelin, N. B. (ed.). *Verbal aspect in discourse*, pp.131-158. Amsterdam: Benjamin.
- Holk, A. G. F. 1990. "Aspect in textual deep structure: On the message. Theme of Puškin's The Bronze Horseman." In Thelin, N. B. (ed.). *Verbal aspect in discourse*, pp.367-382. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
- Hopper, P. 1978. "Aspect and foregrounding in discourse." In Givon, T. (ed.). *Discourse and syntax*, pp. 213-41. New York: Academic Press.
- Hopper, P. 1982. *Tense - Aspect: Between semantics and pragmatics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
- Hopper, P. and Thompson, S. 1980. "Transitivity in grammar and discourse." *Language* 56 (2): 251-299.
- Hornstein, N. 1990. *As time goes by: Tense and universal grammar*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Hyland, K. 2001. "Bringing in the reader; Addressee features in academic writing."

- Written Communication* 18(4): 549–74.
- Hyland, K. 2002. "Directives: Arguments and engagement in academic writing." *Applied Linguistics* 23: 215-239.
- Hyland, K. and P. Tse. 2005. "Hooking the reader: a corpus study of evaluative *that* in abstracts." *English for specific purposes* 24: 123 – 139.
- Hymes, D. 1962. "The ethnography of speaking." In Gladwin, T. and W. C. Sturtevant. *Anthropology and Human behavior*. The Anthropological society of Washington: Washington.
- International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*. 1992. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jakobson, J. 1961. "Closing statement: Linguistics and poetics." In Sebeok T. (ed.) *Style in language*, pp. 350-303. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Jakobson, J. 1971. *Selected writings: Word and language*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Jakobson, J. 1972. *Selected writings: Word and language*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Janssen, Th. A.J.M. 1991. "Preterit as definite description." In Gvozdanović, J. and Th Janssen (eds.). *The function of tense in texts*, pp. 157-180. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Jenssen, P. A. 1990. "Narrative description or descriptive narration: problems of aspectuality in Čechov." In Thelin, N. B.. 1990 (ed.). *Verbal aspect in discourse*, pp. 383-409. Amsterdam: Benjamin.
- Jespersen, O. 1924. *The philosophy of grammar*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Jespersen, O. 1931. *A modern English grammar: On Historical Principles*. Book II Syntax. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Johnstone, B. 2002. *Discourse analysis*. London: Blackwell.
- Kgware, W. M. 1944. *The predicative in Tswana*. Unpublished M. A. dissertation [s.l.].
- King, L. 1973. "The semantics of tense orientation and aspect in English". *Lingua* 59:103–154.
- Klein, W. 1994. *Time in Language*. London: Routledge.
- Klein, W. 1995. "A time relational analysis of Russian aspect". *Language* 71: 669–695.
- Kortmann, B. 1991. "The triad Tense-aspect-Aktionsart: Problems and possible solution". In C. Vetters & W. Vandewegde (eds.). *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 6: 9–30.

- Kress, G. R. 1977. *Language as ideology*. London: Routledge.
- Kruisinga, E. and P.A. Erades 1955. *An English grammar, I. Accidence and syntax*. Groningen: Noordhoff.
- Kuno, S. 1972. "Pronominalization, reflexivization and direct discourse." *Linguistic Inquiry* 3(2): 161-195.
- Kuno, S. 1976. "Subject, theme, and speaker's empathy—a re-examination of relativization phenomena." In Li, G. (ed). *Subject and topic*. New York: Academic Press
- Labov, W. 1972. "The transformation of experience in narrative syntax". In W. Labov (ed). *Language in the inner city*, pp. 354-96. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Labov, W. and J. Waletzky. 1967. "Narrative analysis: Oral version of personal experience." In J. Helm (ed.): *Essay on the verbal and visual arts*, pp. 14-44. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Lakoff, G. and M. Johnson. 1999. *Philosophy in the flesh: the embodied mind and its challenge to Western thought*. New York: Basic Books.
- Langacker, R. 1990. *Foundations of cognitive grammar*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Lanser, S. 1981. *The narrative act: Point of view in prose fiction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Leech, G. 1971. *Meaning and the English verb*. London: Longman.
- Levinsohn, S. 1994. "Discontinuities in coherent texts." In Levinsohn, S. (ed.) *Discourse features of ten languages of West-Central Africa*, pp. 3-14. Arlington: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Linell, P. and N. Korolija. 1997. "Coherence in multiparty conversation: episodes and contexts in interaction". In Givon, T. (ed). *Conversation: cognitive, communication and social perspective*. Philadelphia: Benjamin.
- Longacre, R. E. 1976. *An anatomy of speech notions*. Lisse: Peter de Ridder.
- Longacre, R. E. 1978. "Why we need a vertical revolution in linguistics". In Wölck, W. and P. L. Garvin (eds.). *The fifth lacus forum*, pp. 247-270. Columbia: Hornbeam Press.
- Longacre, R. E. 1979. "A spectrum and profiles approach to discourse analysis".

- Text 1(4):337-359. The Hague: Mouton.
- Longacre, R. E. 1981. "A discourse manifesto". *Notes of Linguistics* 4:17-29.
- Longacre, R. E. 1989. *Joseph: a story of divine providence: a text theoretical and text linguistic analysis of Genesis 37 & 39 – 48*. Winona Lake: Eisenbraun.
- Longacre, R. E. 1990. *Storyline concerns and word order typology in East and West Africa*. Arlington: University of Texas Press.
- Louwrens, L. J. 1994. *A linguistic analysis of Northern Sotho*. Pretoria: Via Afrika.
- Lyons, J. 1968. *An introduction to theoretical linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Machobane, M. 1985. *Tense and aspect in Sesotho*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Macleane, M. 1988. *Narrative as performance: the Baudelairean experiment*. London: Routledge.
- Madvig J. N. A. 1863. *A Latin Grammar for the use of schools*. Oxford: J. Henry & J. Parker.
- Malepe, A. T. 1966. *A dialect – geographical survey of the phonology of the Central, Eastern and Southern dialects of Tswana*. Unpublished UNISA M. A. Dissertation.
- Malinowski, B. 1944. *A scientific theory of culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Markkanen, R. 1979. *Tense and aspect in English and Finnish: a contrastive study*. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.
- Marslen – Wilson, W. and A. Welsh. 1978. "Processing interactions and lexical access during lexical access: words, phonemes and features". *Psychological review* 101: 653–675.
- Mathesius, V. 1975. *A functional analysis of present day English on a general linguistic basis*. The Hague: Mouton.
- McCawley, J. D. 1971. "Tense and time reference in English". In Fillmore, C. J. and D.T. Langendoen (eds.). *Studies in linguistic semantics*, pp. 97–113. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- McCoard, R. W. 1978. *The English perfect: process and result in language*. London: Longman.

- Merrill, P. T. "Russian aspect in questions: Information and invariance in discourse".
In Thelin, N. B. (ed). 1990. *Verbal aspect in discourse*, pp.307-321. Amsterdam:
Benjamin.
- Michaelis, L. A. 1998. *Aspectual grammar and past time reference*. London: Routledge.
- Miller, J. 1994. "Review of J. Gvozdanović & Th. Janssen (eds.): *The function of tense in texts*." *Lingua* 93 (2-3): 230–236.
- Moens, M. 1987. *Tense, aspect and temporal reference*. Ph.D. dissertation. Edinburgh:
Edinburgh University.
- Monville-Burston, M. & L. R. Waugh. 1991. "Multiple meanings in context: the French present tense." In Gvozdanović J. and Th. Janssen (eds.). *The function of tense in texts*, pp. 183-196. Amsterdam: North–Holland.
- Monyaise, D.P.S. 1959. *Omphile Umphi Modise*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Monyaise, D.P.S. 1965. *Ngaka, mosadi mooka*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Monyaise, D.P.S. 1967. *Bogosi kupe*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Mourelatos, A. P. D. 1981. "Events, processes, and states." In Tedeschi, P. J. and
E. Zaenen (eds.). *Tense and aspect*, pp. 191-212. New York: Academic Press.
- Padučeva, E. 1995. "Taxonomic categories and semantics of aspectual opposition."
In Bertinetto, P. M., V. Bianchi, J. Higginbotham and M. Squartini. *Temporal reference, aspect and actionality* Vol. 1 Semantics and syntactic perspectives.
Torino: Rosenberg and Sellier.
- Palmer, F.R. 1965. *A linguistic study of the English verb*. London: Longman.
- Paprotte, W. 1988. "A discourse perspective on tense and aspect in Standard Modern Greek and English." In Rudzka-Ostyn, B. (ed). *Topics in cognitive linguistics*, pp. 447-505. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
- Peterson, C and A. MacCabe 1991. *Developing narrative structure*. Hillsdale.: L. Erlbaum.
- Polanyi, G. E. 1985. *Telling the American story: a structural and cultural analysis of conversational story telling*. Norwood: Ablex Publishers
- Pollard, D. 1989 "Literature and solipsistic semantics." *Journal of literary semantics* XVIII (1): 66–74.
- Posthumus, L. C. 1982. A review of the so called –be/-ba past tenses in Zulu. *South African Journal of African Languages* 2(2): 94 – 108.

- Prince, G. 1982. *Narratology: The Form and Functioning of Narrative*. Berlin: Mouton.
- Prior, A. N. 1968. *Papers on time and tense*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Reichenbach, H. 1947. *Elements of symbolic logic*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Reinhart, T. 1984. "Principles of gestalt perception in the temporal organization of narrative text." *Linguistics* 22: 779-809.
- Richardson, L. 1990. "Narrative and sociology." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 19 (1): 116-135.
- Richter, D. H. 1994. "Background action and ideology: Grey men and dope doctors in Raymond Chandler." *Narrative* 2: 29 – 40.
- Riddle, E. 1986. "The meaning and discourse functions of the past tense in English." *TESOL Quarterly* 20: 267-286.
- Rimmon-Kenan, S. 1983. *Narrative fiction: Contemporary poetics*. London: Methuen.
- Roberts, P. 1962. *English sentences*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- Römer, U. 2005. *Progressives, patterns, and pedagogy: a corpus-driven approach to English progressive forms, functions, contexts and didactics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
- Rothstein, S. 2004. *Structuring events: a study of the semantics of lexical aspect*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Ruijgh, C. J. 1991. "Les valeurs temporelles des formes verbales en grec ancien". In Gvozdanovič, J. & Th. Janssen (eds.). *The function of tense in texts*, pp. 197-217. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Salkie, R. 1989. "Perfect and pluperfect: what is the relationship?" *Journal of Linguistics* 25: 1-34.
- Sasse, H. 1991. "Aspect and Aktionsart: reconciliation." In C. Vetters & W. Vandewegde (eds.). *Belgian Journal of Linguistics*, 6: 30 - 45.
- Scheffer, J. 1975. *The progressive in English*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Scheurweghs, G. 1959. *Present English syntax: A survey of English sentences*. London: Longman.
- Schiffrin, D. 1981. "Tense variation in narrative". *Language* 57: 45-62.
- Schiffrin, D. 1991. "The proximal/distal temporal axis: the meaning and use of *then* in discourse." In Gvozdanovič, J. & Th. Janssen (eds.). *The function of tense in*

- texts, pp. 219-236. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Shklovsky, V. K. 1971 "Art as technique". In Matejka, L. and K. Pomorska (eds). *Readings in Russian poetics*. Cambridge: MIT
- Schopf, A. 1991. "The analysis and reconstruction of the temporal structure of narrative texts." In Gvozdanovič, J. & Th. Janssen (eds.). *The function of tense in texts*, pp. 237-253. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Sickles, H. D. 1990. *The reader in traditional and post-modernist fiction: a study of "Tom Jones" and "The sot-weed factor"*. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Microfilm.
- Sil'nickij, G. 1992. "Review of Thelin's (ed) Verbal aspect in discourse." *Studies in Language* 16(2): 429-444.
- Silva-Corvalan, C. 1991. "Invariant meanings and context-bound functions of tense in Spanish." In Gvozdanovič, J. & Th. Janssen (eds.). *The function of tense in texts*, pp. 255-270. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Sinclair, M. (ed.). 1987. *Collins Cobuild English language dictionary*. London: Harper Collins.
- Sinclair, M. 1993. "Are academic texts really de-contextualized and fully explicit? A pragmatic perspective on the role of context in written communication." *Text* 13: 529-558.
- Smith, C.S. 1991. *The parameters of aspect*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academie.
- Smith, C. S. 2003. *Modes of discourse: The local structure of texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, B. H. 1978. *On the margins of discourse: the relation of literature to language*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Stanzel, F.K. 1964. *A theory of narrative*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
- Stein, N. L. and C. G. Glen 1979. "An analysis of story comprehension in elementary school children." In Feedle, R. E. *New directions in discourse processing*, pp. 53-120. Norwood: Ablex.
- Stubbs, M. 1996. *Text and corpus analysis*. London: Blackwell.
- Talmy, L. 1978. "Figure and ground in complex sentences". In Greenberg, J., C Ferguson and E. A. Moravcsik (eds) *Universals in human language* Vol. 4, pp. 625-249. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Thelin, N. B. 1990. "On the concept of time: Prolegomena to a theory of aspect and

- tense in narrative discourse." In Thelin, B. (ed.). *Verbal aspect in discourse*, pp. 91-29. Amsterdam: Benjamin.
- Timberlake, A. 1984. "The temporal schemata of Russian predicates". In Flier M. & R.D. Brecht (eds.). *Issues in Russian morphosyntax*, pp. 35–57. Columbus: Slavica.
- Timberlake, A. 1990. "The aspectual case of predicative noun in Lithuanian texts." In Thelin, N. B. (ed.). *Verbal aspect in discourse*, pp. 325-347. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
- Tobin, Y. 1991. "The future tense in modern Hebrew." In Gvozdanovič, J. & Th. Janssen (eds). *The function of tense in texts*, pp. 271–290. Amsterdam: North–Holland.
- Tobin, Y. 1993. *Aspect in the English verb: process and result in language*. London: Longman.
- Tomashevsky, B. 1965. "Thematics". In Lemon, L. T. & M. J. Reis (ed) *Russian formalist criticism*, pp. 61-95. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.
- Tomlin, R. S. 1987. *Coherence and grounding in discourse*. Amsterdam: Benjamin.
- Tommola, H. 1990. "On Finnish aspect in discourse", In Thelin, N. B. (ed.). *Verbal aspect in discourse*, pp. 349-364. Amsterdam: Benjamin.
- Traugott, E. G. 1975. "Spatial expressions of tense and temporal sequencing: A contribution to the study of semantic fields." *Semiotica* 15(3): 207–230.
- Traugott, E. G. 1982. "From propositional to textual and expressive meanings: some semantics-pragmatic aspects of grammaticalization." In Lehmann, W. P. and Y. Malkiel (eds). *Perspectives on Historical Linguistics*, pp. 245-271. Amsterdam: Benjamin.
- Van de Velde, R. G. 1989. "On Cohesion and Coherence." In Comte, J. *Text and Discourse Connectedness*, pp. 111 - 132. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
- Van Dijk, T. 1980. "Story comprehension and: An introduction". *Poetics* Vol. 9: 1-21.
- Van Kuppervelt, J. 1995. "Main structure and side structure in discourse." *Linguistics* 33: 809-833.
- Vendler, Z, 1967. *Linguistics in Philosophy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Verkuyl, H. 1972. *On the compositional nature of the aspects*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Verkuyl, H. 1993. *A theory of aspectuality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Verkuyl, H. 1999. *Aspectual issues*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Vinogradov, V. V. 1947. *Russkij jazyk*. Moscow: Izdvo Akademii Nauk.
- Virtanen, T. 1992. "Issues in text typology: Narrative - a basic type of text?" *Text* 12: 293-310
- Vlach, F. 1981. "The semantics of the progressive." In Tedeschi, P. J. & A. Zaenen (eds) *Tense and aspect*, pp. 271-293. New York: Academic Press.
- Wallace, S. 1987. "Figure and ground: the interrelationships of linguistic categories." In Hopper, P. J. (ed.). *Tense-Aspect: Between semantics and pragmatics*, pp. 210-223. Amsterdam: Benjamin.
- Wårvik, B. 1990. "On grounding in narratives." In Lindbläs, L. & M. Ljung (eds.) *Proceedings from the third Nordic conference for English Studies*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Wårvik, B. 1992. *On grounding in narratives. A survey of models and criteria*. Unpublished Licentiate Thesis. Turku: Åbo Akademi University.
- Waugh, L. 1990. "Tense - aspect and hierarchy of meanings: Pragmatics, textual, modal, discourse, expressive, referential." In Waugh, L. (ed.). *New vistas in grammar*, pp. Philadelphia: John Benjamin.
- Waugh, L. R., T. Antes, and M. Bahloul. 1992. "Review of Dulcie M. Engel, *Tense and Text: A Study of French Past Tenses*". *Studies in Language* 16(1): 192-201.
- Waugh, L. R. and M. Monville-Burston. 1986. "Aspect and discourse function: The French simple past in newspaper usage." *Language* Vol. 62: 846-77.
- Werth, P. 1993. "Accommodation and the myth of presupposition: the view from discourse." *Lingua* 89: 39-95.
- Whaley, L. J. 1997. *Introduction to typology: the unity and diversity of Languages*. Thousands Oaks: Sage
- Wilkendorf, P. L. 1994. "Cohesion and discontinuities in Nomaande expository discourse." In Levinsohn, S. (ed.) *Discourse features of ten languages of West-Central Africa*, pp. 15-32. Arlington: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Williams, C. 2002. *Non-progressive and progressive aspect in English*. Fasano: Schena Editore.
- Wodak, R. 1986. "Tales from the Vienna Woods, Sociolinguistic considerations of Narrative Analysis". *Poetics* 15:153-182.

- Wolfson, N. 1982. *CHP The conversational historical present in American English narrative*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Xiao, Z. & A. McEnery. 2004. "A corpus-based two level model of situation aspect". *Journal of Linguistics* 40: 325–363.
- Youssef, V. and W. James. 1999. "Grounding via tense-aspect in Tobagonian Creole: discourse strategies across a Creole continuum." *Linguistics* 37: 597-624.
- Zandvoort, R. W. 1972. *A handbook of English grammar*. London: Longman.